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LETTERS ON FREEMASONRY.

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(Bost. 1849)

BOSTON:
PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 24 CONGRESS STREET.
1849.

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LETTERS ON FREEMASONRY.

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BOSTON:
PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 24 CONGRESS STREET.
1849.

LETTERS ON FREEMASONRY.

REPLY OF HON. JOHN C. SPENCER,

Special Agent for the State of New York, against the abducters of William Morgan, to and by the request of Bolling Hall, Samuel S. Graham, and Absalom Jackson, a Committee appointed by a large meeting of respectable citizens of Autauga, (Alabama,) and adjoining Counties.

Canandaigua, N. Y., July 15, 1830.

Messrs. Bolling Hall, Samuel S. Graham, and Absalom Jackson.

Gentlemen:—Your letter of the 25th May has at last reached me, and I embrace the first opportunity afforded by incessant professional engagements to answer it. The most authentic sources of information I can furnish you on the subject of your inquiry, will be found in an official report by me to the Executive of this State, made in January last; and in a report of one of our Circuit Judges, in answer to a resolution of the Senate of this State. These documents are sent by this mail; and to increase the chance of your receiving them, duplicates will be sent to you in about a week. The latter of these documents proceeds from an individual disposed rather to screen from public view the faults of the masonic institution. It is the most favorable view that can possibly be presented, of the masonic obligations as developed in the trial of E. Mather. I have been compelled, from a sense of duty to the public and a sense of self-respect to myself, to resign the situation of special counsel, to which you allude,

as having furnished me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the bearings of Freemasonry on society. During more than a year of most painful investigation, I did indeed become acquainted with the effects which that institution had upon its votaries in this quarter. *It has changed the character of some of our best citizens—men who formerly would have been among the first in bringing to justice offenders against the laws, have virtually become the apologists of murderers and kidnappers. So far from aiding in their detection, our best citizens, magistrates and sheriffs, have interposed every obstacle in their power* —witnesses have been concealed and spirited away by them—the guilty have been assisted in escaping, or if brought to trial, have been succored and sustained by money, by professional aid the best the country could afford, and by the presence and sanction of their brethren—Masons, called as witnesses, have *refused to testify* in cases where they could not implicate themselves, and have submitted to fine and imprisonment in order to screen their brethren—others more hardy have *directly perjured* themselves on the stand. When sitting as jurors *they have utterly disregarded their duty and their oaths, and by obstinate perseverance have produced the acquittal of their brethren*, or compelled the courts to discharge them. *The very fountain of justice is polluted*—the conservative principle on which all depends, the obligation of a judicial oath, is corrupted. The power of the Fraternity is equal to its need. It reached our present *Executive*, who had once as a Judge applauded the spirit that was excited by the abduction of William Morgan, and converted him into an indifferent spectator of the means used to bring the offenders to justice. *He disclosed my official confidential communications, in consequence of which my* efforts were baffled and I was subjected to every species of obloquy. Nor has the Institution upon our Legislative bodies been less effectual. In renewing the act which author-

ized my appointment, and which the fear of public sentiment forced from our last Legislature, a gross insult was offered me. Under such circumstances I resigned my station and gave my reasons to the public. *The same house of Assembly shuffled off an inquiry into a charge deliberately and openly brought before it, against the Royal Arch Chapter of this State, for having furnished money to aid and sustain the kidnappers of Morgan.* The Chapter was incorporated with a right annexed to the Legislature to repeal the chapter; yet a House of Assembly dare not *inquire even* into the alleged facts which would justify such a repeal. In one word, I consider Freemasonry in direct hostility to the government in all cases where it cannot control it—as producing an utter disregard of all civil duties where they come in collision with its interest—as demoralizing in its very nature, making bad men and citizens of all who adhere to its obligations—creating injurious distinctions in society—giving privileges and advantages to one set of men over others equally meritorious—exercising a most potent influence upon our elections, by secret and I fear corrupt means, and altogether more dangerous to our country and its government than any Standing Army, however numerous it possibly could be. It is worse than a standing army, because its movements are *secret*, and because a more implicit obedience is yielded to its executive. It puts law and government at defiance, and triumphs in the impunity of its members for offences committed under its sanction. The late trials here have convinced every man who is impartial, that government is powerless when opposing this Hydra. That you may understand this remark, I will forward you a newspaper containing an account of the last trial, and will send the papers giving the continuation. Such is my testimony respecting Freemasonry. But it should be borne in mind that I have seen it in its worst aspect.—It has been pressed to the wall, by an adversary

determined to vanquish it. It has accordingly fallen back on its resources, and those principles and obligations which have for some time been dormant, have now been called into action with tremendous energy. Still it may be said that this shows the abuse of which it is susceptible from its very organization ; or as our zealous Antimasons would say, it shows the very nature of the beast, when aroused from its slumber.

Many excellent works have been published in this State on the subject of Masonry, which I would send to you if I did not suppose their expense of postage would be enormous. If, however, you wish them, I will comply with your request. In the mean time I will occasionally send such newspapers as appear to me to contain matter that will be acceptable to you. I have already extended this letter beyond the limits I had designed—but fear of condensing has still prevented me from going into all the facts and reasons which would belong to a proper answer to your inquiry.

Respectfully, your ob't serv't,

JOHN C. SPENCER.

REPLY OF HON. RICHARD RUSH

To William McIlvain, John Kauffet, Hugh McDonald, and Thomas C. Hambly, Antimasonic Committee of Correspondence, for York County, Penn.

York, Pennsylvania, May 4th, 1831.

GENTLEMEN :—I have received the communication of the 26th April, which, as a Committee of Correspondence of Antimasons for this county, you have done me the honor to address to me, on the general subject of Masonry and Antimasonry, and making some inquiries of me in relation to it. I do not know, that the views which I entertain upon either topic can be of more importance than those of any other private individual, who may have

taken the trouble to inform himself on the passing events of the day, and to reflect upon them. But as you are pleased to invite an expression of those views, I will not withhold them. When a citizen may have adopted, on sufficient deliberation, opinions upon any public question, they seem, of right, to belong to whomsoever may think them worth asking for. My opinions having been made up neither hastily nor very recently on those which your letter embraces, I willingly proceed, without occupying time by any further introduction, to present them to you, with the grounds on which they are founded.

I see objections to secret societies, because, pursuing objects not known to the public, through means not known to the public, they act under diminished responsibilities to the public. If the objects be good, why not state them; if bad, they ought to be known. Our legislative halls are all open, and our courts; so are all the acts of our people, that may come to affect the interests of the body political or social. Not a bridge company, not a turnpike company, no bank, scarcely an association of any kind, for whatever purpose existing, whether for the advancement of charity, or learning, or religion, or any of the common business of life, and whether incorporated by the laws or not, but renders its statements to the public either voluntarily or by command of the laws. If the latter do not positively enjoin publicity, a competent share of information regarding the objects of any such associations, is rarely or ever withheld, on proper inquiry being made. Societies, then, profoundly secret, by the first element of their constitution, whatever their ostensible ends, cannot be too closely watched, in a country whose primary principles of political and social action are all in the face of day. The mystery should appear to have good cause, and be free from all suspicion of abuse. If such societies guard their secrets by strong penalties; if they have numbers and antiquity on their side; if

their visible outposts are but links of a chain stretching from nation to nation; if the sense of affiliated attachment and union among them is perceived to be exceedingly energetic and zealous; if their whole scheme of discipline, improved throughout ages, has become in a high degree imposing, even terrifying, their operations will naturally have the more scope, and should be watched with the more care. Freemasonry *is* such a society. Great and good men have belonged to it, I know, and do belong to it at this moment; yet, recent disclosures in the United States, have, I think, shown the dangers of which the society may become the parent, through the agency of bad men. Of all governments existing, ours is the one which would be most justified in watching, with constant and scrupulous care, the conduct of societies profoundly secret. Most, or all, other governments admit the principle of secrecy, and themselves practise it, at least to some extent. Ours, never. All its operations are, sooner or later, laid before the grand, original, constituent body—the people; the only fountain, with us, of all influence and sovereignty and power. These are obvious principles of our system. Freemasonry puts forth an exception to them. It is hence the right and duty of the people, to exercise strict censorship over a body which moves in an element so contrary to their own. They are the higher power, and entitled to the undisputed control. It is as much a general truth in morals as in government, that it is vice, not virtue, which needs a veil.

In saying that recent disclosures have shown the dangers of Masonry in the United States, let us see if I am not right. I desire to be guided by facts, and to look at them rigorously. Your inquiries are broad, and should be met broadly. But facts shall be my basis, and I wish to deal with them practically, as I have really beheld them. You apply to me as citizens, taking an actual

part in the affairs around you. I am to answer you in that capacity, and as a member of the same community.

The public all know, that certain trials have been held from time to time in the State of New York, for the discovery of the authors of the abduction and murder of William Morgan. Against this man's liberty and life, an extensive and formidable conspiracy had been laid, which ended in the destruction of both. He was a native of Virginia, and had removed into New York. It was there, it seems, that he committed a certain offence, not against the laws of his country, but the Code of Masonry; namely, that of revealing its secrets; and this is the offence for which he was made to suffer death. The conspirators neither laid against him, nor pretended any other. The case is therefore purely Masonic in its origin and termination. There is nothing extraneous to embarrass the judgment or lead away the thoughts.

When I remark, that the public all know of the trials, I mean that they have heard of them, generally; for I do not believe, that one person in fifty knows any thing more about them. I have followed up the account of them, as far as I have had the means; and especially those that have taken place at Lockport, within the last few months. I have done so in no prejudiced spirit, but with an earnest desire to understand the whole case rightly. They appear to me to unfold one of the most extraordinary incidents that has ever transpired. All the circumstances considered, I know not where we shall seek for its counterpart. It is seen from these trials, that the laws of the land cannot be executed upon the authors of an audacious and bloody conspiracy, although its entire theatre was in one of the most populous parts of the Union, although attempts have been made to enforce them in all practicable ways, for a period now exceeding four years, although the government of the State of New York, has aided, by its immediate countenance and

direction, the public prosecutions, besides having issued commissions of special investigation; and, what is more astonishing than all, although the conspirators, with their aiders and abetters, are, in all probability, known to more than *one hundred persons* belonging to the masonic body, if not to a larger number. That they are certainly known to a great many masons, if to fewer than one hundred, is plain, from lights that must bring conviction home to every dispassionate and sound mind.

Such is the case as it meets us on the threshold. It is startling. Under a government of laws, and in a season of tranquillity, it must be pronounced an anomaly. It seems a scandal upon the trial by jury, upon the public examination of witnesses, upon our forms of presentment and indictment, upon the power of commitment for not answering legal questions, upon all the modes heretofore the boast of our judicature, for getting at the truth; all of which have been so earnestly, solemnly, yet fruitlessly resorted to. Amidst the din of arms we are told, indeed, that the laws become silent; but that they should so totally lose their authority, at a period of profound peace and general good order, as they have done on this occasion, must arise from some extraordinary and portentous cause. The victory of crime is the opprobrium of the law, and should call forth a spirit of determined inquiry into the cause.

It has been said, that the human bosom is not strong enough to hold the secret of a foul murder. So heavily does it press, that the stoutest heart gives way, seeking relief in the gush of its sin. Hitherto, also, in proportion as the knowledge of the fact of murder has been shared by large numbers of people, has been the ease, the promptitude, we may add, the certainty of detection. But in Morgan's case, we behold the frightful reverse. It stands, in this respect, alone, in the records of criminal jurisprudence. The law-books of ancient and modern

times, might safely be invoked for a precedent. The difficulty of keeping the secret of a Murder, operated as some safeguard over innocent life. It served in some degree to deter the murderer himself, by making him shrink from the fear of his own thoughts afterwards, and to obstruct his fell plans, from the like fear keeping away accomplices. As by stripes the flesh is made to quiver, so the whips and stings of remorse lacerate the heart. They are internal executioners, from whose torture the guilty cannot escape. But here we behold this safeguard of life put to scorn—one seated in the very conscience of man, and which nothing but the most baleful potions, administered as if by infernals, could ever extirpate. Every sober-minded citizen will be anxious to arrive at the solution of this phenomenon. If a train of evidence altogether irresistible in its direct or circumstantial application, force upon his mind the belief, that its entire and complicated horror is clearly traceable to the confederated and unholy contrivances of bad men who are masons, all his right feeling as a citizen must be shocked. He must stand confounded, at seeing human life and liberty so sported with by a power the more tremendous in its victory over the laws, as it rides in darkness. Good men who are masons, will turn from such conduct with abhorrence. Candid men of the society, on hearing the relation of it, may be disposed to ask themselves, whether all the benefits of masonry, alleged or real, can be a counterpoise for the perils which may thus spring from it, through deluded or depraved zealots, who gain admittance to its sanctuary, and who effectually silence compunction under iniquity, by flying to the misunderstood or perverted ties and obligations of the craft.

If a power shrouded from the day has been found of efficacy sufficient to interpose a fatal obstruction to the great course of public justice where guilt has been so aggravated, are we to suppose that the mischief ends

here? That it is a single, an insulated instance? It is impossible. He is weak and credulous who believes it. In the vast and active character and business of masonry; in its close and diversified connections with society at large, whose movements, from behind its own screen, it can watch and follow up at pleasure, it must happen that the streams of justice will often be tainted, on occasions less conspicuous, by the same power. A danger then exists, under the highest moral and even judicial demonstration, which ought to rivet deep attention, and awaken general alarm. Not only has the government of the State of New York lent its efforts in aid of the ordinary process of law, for detecting the culprits in this audacious conspiracy. The government of Upper Canada has stepped forward in co-operation; for it is a characteristic of the conspiracy, that there were strong suspicions of its embracing depraved members of the fraternity in that foreign jurisdiction—so extensive were believed, and on rational grounds, to have been the hideous workings of its malignant sympathies. But all has been in vain. Executive messages, executive acts and proclamations, with the offer of executive rewards, like indictments and jury trials under special courts and judges, (for these too were added,) have all fallen to the ground. The Law is still paralyzed by a hidden agent, that continues to prove stronger than the combined force of its machinery and its ministers; the Lodge of this agent, has become its sepulchre. There it lies, a spectacle for freemen to look at.

In the whole compass of affairs to which government is subservient, there is nothing of such transcendent importance, as the faithful and effective administration of justice between man and man, and by the body politic against public delinquents. It is of daily, unceasing emergence. It blends itself with all the wants, duties and necessities, with all the hopes and all the dangers, that belong to the political and social condition of the

world. It comes perpetually home to the immediate business and bosom of mankind, the remark so often repeated from Bacon, but which on this subject has its application in exact truth. Hume describes it as the sole end and aim of all government; and certainly, if such an administration of justice be wanting, it is not going too far to assert, that the functions of government have stopped in a point that is vital. If we have laws without the power to give them effect, we are in the condition of a people having none; which brings society to a pause. The levy of ship-money was among the causes that produced the decapitation of Charles I. and a change in the English dynasty. The tax of three pence a pound on tea, helped to bring on our own Revolution. How small such acts in themselves! yet, in union with a quick and well-understood spirit of public liberty, how vast their consequences throughout nations and the posterity of nations! I fear not to say, that neither of them was calculated to press so destructively upon the great fabric of society, as the fact before us, of a secret combination in the heart of the republic, being able to keep the laws at bay in this case of the murderers of Morgan; so long to trample upon, so long to triumph over them. The apathy prevailing under the baffled efforts to probe and fully to punish so great an enormity, is to my mind inexplicable, among a people watchful of their rights, and who would ever be ready, it might have been supposed, to embody the whole power of society, wherever any one of its members, however humble, was seen to be so ruthlessly struck down. Interposition should have been the more immediate and decided, as the blow was so bold and terrible; as it was given amidst concomitants so unusual, and indicative of so supreme, so insolent a contempt for the laws. If ever an event arose in the annals of any people, that should have made the *whole body* of the public identical with the authority of the magistrate,

by a burst of indignation and a concert of efforts, IT WAS THIS. No other feeling ever yet kept permanently alive the spirit of public liberty, or upheld the supremacy and grandeur of the laws. They both die as certainly under torpor, as if crushed by an open despotism. It is one of the ways in which states begin to lose their liberties. It is a deadly opiate, diffusing itself through the political system, against the instillations of which, the patriot heart should be roused by every consideration that can animate it to its highest duties. When the magistrates are seen with the ensigns of authority powerless in their hands, an appeal is made to the inextinguishable allegiance and generous devotion which should bind every citizen to the common weal. The love of public freedom must be shown in the inviolable maintenance of individual rights. We are degenerate Republicans, we are *no* Republicans, otherwise. Morgan's case is no common one. It is of great and inspiring magnitude. Looked at by itself, it may be called detached, or little, by those who little know how to think, or are determined not to think. But, properly weighed by its principles as well as its facts, it is momentous and appalling. It is no case for County Courts. It is for the nation. That is its proper tribunal. Those who will lift up their minds to an enlarged and just conception of it, instead of keeping down to a superficial and imperfect one, will see it under a connection indissoluble, with a train of public principles, with which are interwoven the interests, the safety, and the durable glory of the nation. Let the law, that sheet-anchor of society, come to miss its grapple upon public felons, banded in league together by a principle that exalts their crimes into achievements of merit, and every thing is exposed to wreck and dissolution. The daring and profligate nature of the conspiracy against the liberty and life of this citizen; the inflexible and malignant vigor of purpose with which, step by step, it was pursued to con-

summation ; the cool, the systematic, the inveterate depravity of all the actors in it, have no parallel in the previous history of our country, scarcely in that of any country. I challenge the Spanish Inquisition to exceed it. I boldly invite a search into the archives of that engine of a ferocious despotism, which for four centuries in Europe crushed its unhappy victims with a vengeance so diabolical, under color of vindicating the holy church, to produce a case that goes beyond it. Morgan's immolation was in spirit, almost in form, an *Auto da Fe.* Holy Masonry found its vindicators too. The similitude is close and shocking. It should burn the cheek of every American who contemplates it. The iron clamps that were probably prepared for the feet and hands of Morgan, aptly compare with the chains in which the victim of the Inquisition was habited, when trembling on the verge of eternity ; whilst the pictures of devouring dogs and serpents that were hung round his neck, completely prefigure the horrid gang of murdering conspirators who plunged their hands in the blood of Morgan.

This case, thus far, is entirely out of the track of all events in a free, or well-governed community. It befits the grim despotism of dark and superstitious ages and countries. But I am now to present an aspect of it still more extraordinary, still more alarming. How to present it, how to realize it, I am at a loss. It seems a delusion. It doubles all my amazement. I would throw it off as a phantom if I could ; but I cannot, and I sink in my feelings as an American citizen, under the mortified and abashed consciousness of its truth. Perhaps I ought to pause ere I advance further. That which I am about to touch, is on all sides encompassed with hazards. A saving energy it has, indeed, for its friends, and knows how and when to exert it ; but it can make its blast howl about the ears of all, who, with unsanctified steps, approach its precincts ; blasts as from " Boreas, and Eurus,

and Caurus and Argestes, loud." If I followed the counsels of prudence, I should bend the knee in reverence and retreat before it. But I will proceed. At your call, I have taken what I believe to be the cause of public order, and of truth, in hand, and that cause must be my shield. A saying that we had when I was at school, comes into my mind. I scarcely know how to quote it, and must hope for your pardon if I do. It was not *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum;* but TELL THE TRUTH, THOUGH THE DEVIL BE BEFORE YOU. Let it be heard.

Hitherto, when a murder, especially one attended by any startling or unusual circumstances, has been committed by unseen hands, in a country where existed a free press, that great instrument has never failed to raise and to keep up the alarm. It has done more, far more, than writs, and depositions, and search warrants; more than the whole roll of sheriffs, and constables, and deputies, with the *posse comitatus* in their wake, to drag the perpetrators from their cover. By its universal and spontaneous activity, operating like a moral hue and cry, it helps to point aright public vigilance and suspicion. It ministers usefully to public indignation, making it strong and stirring. It puts every thing in motion, itself heading the pursuit. It sharpens scrutiny, reinvigorates flagging exertion, smites like inward fire upon the fears and pantings of the skulking felon, and throws out signals of all kinds, a thousand times more valuable, when its mighty trumpet is sounded in a good cause, than any that masonry ever planted upon its mysterious lodges. Need I instance the case of White at Salem? Need I mention that of Thurtell, in England, a few years ago, when the unceasing clangor of their press reverberated even to our shores. Paris never had such a police; society never such a conservative principle. It is omnipresent. Like flashes from the heavens it lights up the entire horizon. Its sweep is from the "orient to the drooping west;" the whole nation its stage, the whole

people its audience. What a power in society when directed to proper ends; how resistless, how awful! But, in the case we are considering, with the exception of the comparatively few newspapers antimasonic in special name and object, the Press, as far as I have had opportunities of observing, has been shamefully silent. This best guard of a free state, better than legions of bayonets, this lion at its portals, whose noble nature for the most part it is to spring forward, enraged and uncompromising, upon crime, has been lulled to sleep; has been chained and muzzled; has been faithless; has been criminal. I say criminal. Silence in such a cause, is participation. It shows, in effect, companionship with the murderers, had there been nothing more than silence. It is keeping bands with blood, when a voice, loud, simultaneous, and incensed, should have rung through the land.

May I not justly say that the whole transaction, in every feature in which the public have a right to feel an interest, is an anomaly. Generally it has been the course of the Press, as through a salutary instinct of its nature, to be too quick rather than too slow; to fly at wrong in the remote intention and tendency; to err by inflaming too much, rather than too little. But here, in Morgan's case, with the stain of blood before its eyes, with crime actually perpetrated, and crying for punishment, it shuts its eyes. It becomes suddenly and stupidly blind, or it turns traitor. There is no alternative. The press on this occasion has fallen into stupefaction, or turpitude; for it cannot so utterly have lost its senses as not to know, that the crime would never have been committed and left unavenged, but for the full and continued existence, in our country, of the masonic obligation. No sophistry can gainsay this position. The evidence of it is flagrant; its foundation is upon a rock. Had a case like Morgan's arisen in 1776; had blood been so atrociously shed, and gone so long unavenged, through any acts of the govern-

ment then ruling us, or the black doings and subtle hidings of masonry within its borders, I believe that it would have acted upon public opinion like an electric shock, and that our fathers would have sought no stronger cause for prostrating in the dust an open authority or secret influence, that could so iniquitously prostrate justice. Am I wrong? Do I affirm too much? Am I giving way to feeling, in place of reasoning? No! I speak under the highest of all sanctions, before the American public. Turn to the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, that glorious charter of our liberties, and see if it be not there recorded as one of the causes for dismembering an empire, that the British King, by his odious acts, had obstructed the *administration of justice* in our country. No single case, comparable in atrocity to this of Morgan's, whether as regards the original conspiracy and murder, or the total obstruction of the laws since, ever disgraced the tyranny of that era over us. If one like it had occurred, a town meeting in Boston would have rallied New England to her duty: the fire of Patrick Henry's eloquence would have summoned Virginia to hers; the decree would have gone forth, and monarchy or masonry would have fallen. That the contest with the latter would have been the most difficult, I have no doubt; but down it would have come. Had the Universal Press of the country done its duty, in a spirit resolute and lofty as of that day, instead of sluggishly remaining quiet, or ignominiously conniving, this conspiracy against Morgan would long since have been laid bare, and public justice been vindicated. Its voice would have carried consternation into the recesses of every lodge. Its thunders would have shaken their very walls and rafters; their foundations underneath would have rocked, their turrets above would have trembled, and masonry in turn, like the suffering victim of the conspiracy, would have put up its prayer for mercy. Appalled, menaced for its existence, it would have been seen

every where in motion. Then, *then*, its activity, its discipline, its terrors, would have been at work to ferret out the deep guilt. Its conclaves would have assembled for no other object, until that object had been attained. The institution would have been placed under accusation ; it would have been arraigned before the dread bar of the nation ; where, under the majestic inquest of the Press, it would have stood, pale and breathless, waiting its doom. The spectacle would have been sublime ! And who can doubt the issue? Who can doubt but that the truth would have come to light ? Who can doubt but that the cloud, all along so dark, would have "*turned her silver lining*" on this plot of death ? No one, surely, who has remarked the potency which this institution has ever shown in securing ends on which it chooses to bend its whole purpose, and employ all its exertions. I repeat, then, that the Press has shown a dull insensibility to the high motives and feelings by which it ought to have been fired in this case of enormity, or it has been a traitor to its trust. It ought, forthwith, to have put the masonic institution upon the defensive. That was its true position before society ; under a case of conspiracy and crime, planned and executed by those who notoriously belonged to the secret institution. I lay this down as strict reasoning, and so let it be judged ; so would I clinch upon the Press the charge of infatuated dereliction or of accessory guilt.

The worst is to be told. For whence this infatuation, or this connivance ? Whence this most marvellous exception to all its wonted eagerness and fire ? Whence the sudden spiking of that artillery that ever, heretofore, has played its volleys upon crime ? Whence, but because the Press itself is under the deleterious enchantments of masonry, or otherwise wears its manacles ? whether the iron ones forged for it by the Institution itself, or those existing in the influence of readers and patrons, the result

is still the same. How else *could* it have happened, that it has withheld from the people the incontestable evidences of masonic guilt, which the repeated and solemn trials in New York have afforded? Does it act in this way on other occasions? Did it even suppress from its columns the publication of the case of the wretched pirate Gibbs, with all its train of particulars, during this present spring? Has not this case—a case certainly of no novelty in its principle—been running the rapid rounds of almost all the papers of the Union? Yet no word have we of the trials at Lockport, that were going on at the same instant; not a whisper, not a breath. All is silent like the tomb. How will the Press shake off the obloquy of such conduct? It cannot shake it off. There is no other explanation of it than the one given. Will it pretend to allege that those trials brought out no evidence of masons' guilt? Will it presume to say, in extenuation, that the murdered remains of Morgan are still unfound? Preposterous, insulting extenuation! Why not publish the evidence itself, and let the people judge; as, at all events, the case had become one of great and commanding public notoriety? If the people were to transfer a portion of their indignation from the murderers of Morgan to those presses of the country that have evinced an anxiety to hush up the foul deed, they would be acting righteously. It would show the Press, by a lesson never to be forgotten, that the people were the true fountain of justice, as well as power.

I feel anxious to stop; but as yet I cannot. I must look round upon the unparalleled scene. It brings with it a weight of thought and feeling that is oppressive. I did not sit down to write a dissertation on masonry, nor am I going to give myself to this task. I dwell not upon its remote origin and long history; upon its curious titles; upon its ceremonies, of oriental mould, and celestial exaltation. I dive not into its claims to science, to

philanthropy, or to religion. All these I leave, for good or for bad, for censure or for commendation. My concern at present is with none of them. I purposely turn away, that there may be no diversion from the scene I am surveying. I am in a field by itself. There my astonished sight beholds two figures: the State, with the broken sceptre of the laws in her hand, on one side, and Masonry, with a veil over her face, on the other. My vision is distinct, though the spectacle is so portentous! I go not beyond the narrative that presents it. Keeping to that, I am guarded against mistake or confusion. I have here immovable ground under me. I take post as upon the verity of a legal record. A few facts are all that I want, and these I have. I desire to render the case irresistible, by its concentration and its simplicity. I believe that Morgan was seized, carried far from his home by masons, and by masons murdered. I believe that this was the result of a conspiracy, engendered and carried through, under circumstances of peculiar deliberation, malignity, and terror. Yet, to this very hour, the infamous deed remains unpunished. I have watched the pursuit of justice. I see how she is disheartened, fatigued, worn down, by efforts, continued throughout years, to clutch these worse than Calabrian banditti. I see her at fault: I see her countenance in despair. Masons know the whole tale of blood. Who can deny this? Masons conceal it. Who can deny this? Can, then, any sentient, reasonable being say, that masonry is *not* at the bottom of the evil? True, these are depraved masons who act in this manner, and I do not mean to judge all other masons by them; but masonry, corporate, existent masonry, is the root. The abandoned fiends of the order, who know the truth, conceal it on system. They are wicked through principle. They confound crime with virtue; murder with masonic merit. Like imps of pandemonium, they rejoice and dance in their sin. Like

the crew in the Mask of Comus, they are unconscious of their "foul disfigurement." The deeper their guilt, the more they make themselves invulnerable. You can no more grasp them, than if they sink into the earth, or mount into the air. Its spirit, inexorable as death, destroyed the life of this citizen; and, like a spirit, it became invisible. It is here—it is there—it is gone; nobody can see it; but society feels it. It is the spirit of night. The magistrate strikes, but it is into vacuity. He follows up the blow, again and again, but it falls upon a shadow. Is all this nothing? Is it to be forgotten; to be mentioned with indifference; to be sneered at as fanfaronade? If the Press has turned deserter, and gone over to the enemy, whose profligate cohorts have overthrown the laws, is that a reason why the people should not be true to themselves? Is the whole army to be given up, because the sentinels have skulked? If so, where is our intelligence? where our estimate of the popular dignity? where our stern republicanism? where our quick, our exalted sense of country? Where, we may ask, had fled our Jefferson's sagacity, when he told us, that a Republic was the strongest government upon earth, since it was the only form under which, on a breach of the law, every one would fly to its support as a personal concern? Had he heard the opposing spirit of our day, that could spurn the law? Had he heard of the spirit, creeping in darkness, that could not only cover the guilty with an armor impenetrable, but try to throw odium on those who cry out for retribution? Solon, being asked which was the most perfect popular government, replied, That where an injury done to any private citizen, is such to the whole body. The blood of a murdered Roman, of one single Roman, could once rouse that whole race of freemen, as by a voice from above. It could call down a just vengeance against all who *caused* the deed. More than once, it changed their

government. It expelled the Tarquins; it overthrew the Decemvirs. It kindled a holy enthusiasm, which nothing could appease until the guilty authors were blasted and consumed, that thus the wounded commonwealth, a name sacred in Roman eyes, might have its propitiatory sacrifice. It was so that Roman glory, that work of ages, as Tacitus describes it, that toil of patriots, and statesmen, and legislators, and warriors, was founded and kept pure. But, in our boasted Republic, the blood of an American, who was taken from his home—bound—tortured—agonized—borne by the conspirators along the high roads with an impudent cavalcade of carriages and horsemen—cast into a fortress over which had floated the sovereign flag of the Union—and at last immolated—by harpies belonging to an organized and powerful institution, who conceal their crime under the horrible delusions of their mystic tie—all this is to go for nothing! The institution is not to blame! No! it is no fault of the institution! The immolation is to cause no public dismay. We are to sit still, in stupid gaze; some beholding it with folded arms, others in derision! The Press is silent, or the Press scoffs! The institution even turns complainant. It positively grows belligerent; it shows battle. It will not be "persecuted." It will have no noise made; none of all this flash, and rodomontade, and bluster. The small number who are driving the conspirators into the toils, and permanently breaking up their den, to save the future from all possibility of similar tragedies, are denounced, ridiculed! They are *infected* with "an Antimasonic excitement," they are demagogues, office-hunters; the mere getters-up of a groundless party, without use, or motive, or object! Was ever an intelligent community so treated before? Was ever the understanding of rational men so trifled with? Did ever corporate hardihood, in any age or nation, assume a front so brazen-faced? Let it go on. It works in its

proper office. In this manner, let it perpetuate its power of defeating the laws. In good time we shall have some other "*affair;*" some fresh peccadillo; some new variety in the dramatics of mystery, for an evening's amusement and editors' gibes!

I must hasten to a close. The subject is too fruitful, too painful. My opinions of masonry will be collected from this letter. I would not give them without my reasons; more especially as you admonish me of your intention to publish what I write. No one better knows than I do, that we are surrounded daily by individuals of the order, whose good qualities as citizens all remain pure; whom we respect, and value, and love; and the mind of a really great man, who knows his duty to his country, will soar above all its pernicious obligations. Of this our country has afforded illustrious instances. But after the developments I have given, I must, I do, believe the evils of masonry to be stupendous; I must, I do, believe that they counterbalance, a thousand fold, any good that it can achieve. It follows that I think favorably of the exertions which you and your antimasonic friends here and elsewhere in the United States, are making to root out its bad influence from the face of our land. I hope that you may continue them with ardor. Taking care that they avoid personal slander or injustice, let them fall short of no just means that may give promise of success. You have a vigorous foe; but fact, and argument, and the force of truth, are with you. Employ these weapons vigorously on your side. If you do make up but a small band, more is the honor to your public spirit; and more the reproach to those who remain insensate under an attack so high-handed upon life and liberty, where guilt has been so presumptuous, where the bloody league continues, as malevolent as ever, unbroken, unabashed. Jenkins, the Englishman, when under torture by the Spaniards, and expecting death from those who

were mutilating him, commended, says the English historian, his soul to his God, and his cause to his country. But where is Morgan's country? Where the avenging arm for him? As yet he has found none. Unrelenting and bloodthirsty conspirators could even dare to convert a fortress of the republic into his dungeon. Monsters in human shape, they thrust him into the cavern of death. But who takes up the cause of his wrongs? I perceive tens of thousands marshalled against it; but who espouses it? There are none but you. Go on then in your course. You are under the broad banner of the law, of patriotism, of humanity, of public order, of private safety; the banner of right reason and of right feeling. You have all the motives that can urge good citizens to action. You have shown that you are not afraid of masonry, or bound by its spell; and as to those who chant its praises, say to them all, that they are as dust in the balance to the unfathomable guilt which bad men of the brotherhood have forever fastened upon it; and that the only way to stop the stream of blood and pollution, which you have detected simply in Morgan's case, is to dry up the fountain. Say that you will never cease from your endeavors to break down a power in the country, which has shown itself, in the face of millions, if they will but look, to be an overmatch for the laws. Keep up an eternal battery against its dangers. "*I like a clamor*," said Burke, "*where there has been outrage; the fire-bell at midnight breaks your sleep, but it saves you from being burned.*" We have been told that masonry is too strong to be put down; that such attempts have been made in European countries, but have failed. Let this animate you but the more. Already it has been the glory of America to set Europe the example of conquest over public abuses, in many memorable ways. It may be her further glory to be the first to dispel the solemn folly, and break the tyrannical fetters of masonry. The day that shall wit-

ness this triumph among us, may well deserve to stand next in our celebrations to the Fourth of July.

In the momentous nature of the general principles I have had under review, I had almost lost sight of a point personal to myself, which your letter embraces, but which I must not omit to answer. It is, whether I am a mason or not? I have to say that I am not. Many years ago, I became an "entered apprentice," went to a Lodge once, —and but once. On my return from England, after an absence in the service of the United States, I voluntarily withdrew from the body, by a letter to that effect. My separation from it was in 1826, before the murder of Morgan was known to me, and had no connection with the just indignation which that deed excited among a portion of the citizens of New York. I am happy to find that this feeling is shared by some of the citizens of our State; yourselves as a portion of my immediate neighbors and friends amongst the rest.

I remain, with great respect and esteem,

Your friend and fellow citizen,

RICHARD RUSH.

REPLY OF HON. RICHARD RUSH

To Timothy Fuller, President, Stephen P. Gardner, Abner Phelps, Epaphras Hoyt, and Micah H. Ruggles, Vice Presidents of the Massachusetts State Antimasonic Convention.

York, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1831.

GENTLEMEN:—Your communication dated the 21st of May, and bearing the Boston post-mark of the 21st of this month, reached me on the 26th instant, which I mention, as it will account for what might otherwise seem a long interval between its date and this acknowledgment.

The favorable sentiments which, as delegates of a Convention lately assembled in Boston from various parts of

the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to adopt measures for the suppression of Freemasonry, you have been pleased to express of the views which I have given to the public upon this subject, yield me a very solid satisfaction. They naturally and powerfully tend to confirm in my own mind the soundness of those views. They demand all my acknowledgments, which I beg leave to tender to you, fully and sincerely. You have yourselves presented views of the subject, other than those which I took, that are full of importance. The subject indeed is of great extent, and may be usefully discussed under a variety of aspects, as different minds may be differently affected towards it; and thus the aggregate of separate contributions will in good time make up the entire volume of light with which it ought to be encompassed.

In the letter which has drawn forth your obliging communication to me, it was my object to hold up the dangers of Masonry, as seen in the contest it has waged with the Law in Morgan's case, and the victory it has won. That part of the subject, and, in direct connection with it, the enslavement of so great a portion of our newspaper press to Masonry, were those upon which alone I meant to dwell. I thought these points plain and practical, and the ground under each so strong, that it was impossible not to stand firmly upon it. As further reflection leads me to think it still stronger than at first, and as I have now, in addition, your valued approbation, besides that of others of my fellow citizens whose approbation cannot but be flattering, I will claim your indulgence whilst I throw out a few more ideas under the same heads, and perhaps incidentally upon some others. It is of the Law of which I chiefly desire to speak, in its connection with Masonry, because it is of the utmost moment that its true doctrines should be understood. Not only do all our civil rights depend upon the true un-

derstanding of them, but also our public liberty. First, however, of the Press.

The thraldom of the press was evinced by its general silence under the foul deed of Morgan's abduction and murder; or by the absence of that decided indignation with which it ought to have followed it up, such as the press is sure to manifest in other cases where great crimes are perpetrated; or, what was more disreputable still, by not unfrequently treating the whole subject with levity, making it the occasion of coarse ribaldry and unseemly merriment. The friends of the press will have cause to blush, as often as this part of its history in our country is recalled. They will feel shame in recollecting, that when the liberty and life of a citizen were struck down by a conspiracy of extraordinary boldness and malignity, an immense majority of the American press, as far as I had any means of knowing, to repeat the expression of my former letter, if it spoke at all, would not speak out; that against all its nature and habits, it grew tame; or even if at first, to save appearances, it did make some demonstrations, and show a guarded indignation, that it soon drew in, becoming indifferent, becoming blind, to an unspeakable outrage, that it knew to be still unavenged. In fact, that it laid down its vigilance, its intelligence and its spirit, at the footstool of Freemasonry. More reprehensible than all;—that, reversing its true duties, it absolutely exerted its spirit and launched forth its virtuous horror only against those who embarked in the pursuit of justice, by branding that pursuit as an unnecessary "*excitement;*" and that finally, in effect, it passed over—the necessary consequences of its measured step against the crime in the beginning—to the side of the offending party, where now it is seen in full juxtaposition, administering to Masonry the comfort which it needs in this remarkable fellowship. Such, in a word, has been the course of the press. Often, in other times and countries, it has been silenced by ar-

bitrary will, or bought up by corrupting gold; but in this country, it has been bestrodden by Masonry. Servitude under any circumstances, is humiliating; but in the lowest depth, there is a lower deep; and that our press should have bowed down in worship to this idol, is the step into that deep. A late writer on the "Principles of Morality," Dymond, whose early death those who stand high in letters in Britain deplore as a public loss, whilst discussing the subject of newspapers, utters this striking opinion; "*that there are some creditable editors who do harm in the world, to an extent, in comparison with which robberies and treason are as nothing.*" I give the passage in his own emphatic words. If this searching writer, as he has been called,—he was of the society of Friends and an honor to that society,—could have witnessed in the United States the subjection of a large band of editors to Masonry, he would not surely have revoked his opinion. On the contrary, astonishment and disgust must have taken possession of his bosom at perceiving how the press in a country proud of its freedom, could have come under such a yoke; and, being under it, how it could pass from absurdity to absurdity, at one time losing itself in a confusion of the understanding, at another in a tornado of passion in attempts to excuse itself for not doing its duty to the public under an event as authentic as ever arose in any country, for drawing out all its honest and most uncompromising indignation.

The National Intelligencer of the 11th of this month, now lies before me. This newspaper has long been published in the capital of the Union. For high and various merit, I do not believe that it is exceeded by any journal in this or in any country. Its conductors do honor to a profession as noble and useful in its honorable exercise, as it is mischievous and unworthy in its abuse. Elevated in mind, they never, whatever their own views of subjects, fail to state fairly the views of those from whom they

differ, and never, to my remembrance have they, in the whole course of their career, soiled their columns with personal indecorums. Yet, what do my eyes behold? This paper, candid as it is, faithfully as it disseminates all other information, ably as it discusses all other questions, will not touch that of Antimasonry. It will not permit itself "*to be instrumental in fomenting an excitement, which, prevailing extensively in some parts of the country, had its origin in the indignation justly excited by the abduction some years ago, of a person by the name of Morgan.*" A PERSON BY THE NAME OF MORGAN!! Thus do these experienced editors speak of the case, as if it were still new to a large part of their numerous readers; which, probably, was the fact. It seems to have been the first time that they had meddled with it, and it is intimated that their press will meddle with it no more. Is not this enough to shock us? Will more proof be called for, except by the infatuated, of the bowing down of the press before the unseen, wide-sweeping scourge of the Masonic Institution? The estimable citizens no less than accomplished editors to whom, and to whose press, I here venture to allude in furtherance of the principle I have in hand, may be well assured that it is done in not the slightest spirit of personal disesteem. They are themselves, I dare to say, unaware of the controling influences under which they labor; they do not perceive how they breathe them in with the social atmosphere; how they are dripping with the deleterious damps of Masonry, without knowing how they come, any more than the damps of the night.

As to the LAW, never in any age or nation was it more completely laid prostrate by any power, than Masonry has done it in the case of Morgan. If this be not enough to consign it to reprobation in a free State, there is nothing else that will. We have been wont to talk of the Law being SOVEREIGN with us; but it is MASONRY that is sove-

reign, as things now stand. This is no unconsidered assertion. I shall proceed to the proof, with a confidence than which the human mind never would be justified in feeling more, on any moral proposition. It rests on evidence strong as adamant, though it be not all technical evidence. It rests on principles co-extensive with the civilized world; principles out of which empires have arisen, and will arise again. Did our fathers of '76 consult Gilbert's law of evidence, or the chapter in Hawkins, to know if every act of oppression against them could be technically proved in court? Did the English of 1688, or the French of last July, stand upon such doctrine? The public safety is not thus to be cavilled away. It is not, as Lord Chatham said, to depend upon books with the leaves turned down in dog's ears. Every successive day, that finds the murder of Morgan unavenged, marks a continuation of the outrage which the longer existence of Masonry in our country, carries with it; as the masons who committed it, or who knew of it, still elude punishment by clinging to their masonic obligations, which they hold to be superior to the law. Though it be even admitted, that this arises from fanaticism in them, which perverts the true intention of the masonic obligation, society equally suffers and is equally outraged. When the institution, affecting to complain of "*persecution*," exclaims, "*punish the guilty but not the innocent*," it falls into mockery, which affronts society anew; for it is the very masonic obligation itself, which never would have place but for the institution, that enables the guilty to elude the law. When, too, the institution, rearing its presumptuous crest to a parallel with Christianity, tells us that crimes committed in the name of the latter are not allowed to recoil upon religion, and claims for Masonry the same indulgence, it advances a claim more audacious than absurd; a claim that no unbiassed mind will notice, unless to remark upon its greater sacrilege than sophistry;

as if the oaths, and grips, and mysteries, and titles, and the whole train of antics, in alliance with which Masonry finds it indispensable to perform her charities, were all of sacred origin ; all *jure divino*, like the claim of monarchs of old to their thrones. The thoughts of such a parallel, make Masonry doubly hateful, showing that it is blown up by impious inflation ; that not content with causing murder upon earth, it is for mounting up afterwards into heaven.

But its pretensions to religion form a branch of the discussion into which I did not go, nor do I desire to go. The only concern that society at large can have with Masonry politically, is on the ground of its doing a positive injury to society. What its predilections may incite it to cherish in theory or enact in practice, within its own walls, those outside need not care about. Let it employ itself as any other benevolent, or festive, or theological brotherhood, if any or all such it constitutes, with its own duties and pastimes, as long as it keeps within its own limits. But the line must never be passed. It exists permissively, under the license of society. The continuance of its charter, depends upon its innocent conduct. This must be unequivocal and invariable. There must be no exception collaterally, any more than directly. The moment it is discovered that persons belonging to this brotherhood can conspire against the liberty and life of a citizen who had broken no law of the land, but merely some of its own edicts, and when these persons can escape detection by persuading themselves that the voluntary oaths and other self-assumed obligations which bind them to the brotherhood are of higher authority than the laws, no matter under what mistaken notions of those oaths and obligations they act, from that moment the whole institution, from which such rank delusions and tremendous perils proceed, assumes a new relation to society. It is placed in the attitude of an aggressor. It

rides over the laws. It is *guilty;* constructively if you will, but obviously and legally guilty. It stands responsible for the blood of a citizen. In vain it may allege that its precepts inculcate obedience to the laws, whilst its ignorant or wicked members violate them through a feeling which the institution generates, in their minds at least. The cry that it is "*persecuted,*" is a contradiction to common sense. It can no longer claim protection like other bodies of men, united for their own purposes. Society and such an institution cannot exist in safety together, and the latter must give way. The first principles of society, all the securities that keep it from flying asunder, stamp this reasoning with truth. It springs from the first impulses of the mind, and is ratified by the covenants of every code. No lawyer, no judge, no publicist, in whatever clime he may live, unless his understanding be subdued by Masonry, can gainsay its force. The master is answerable for the servant, the superior for the inferior, the party paramount, for him who acts under influence. The very dog unchained, who does injury in the streets, fixes liability upon the owner. These are primordial maxims of jurisprudence, locally and universally. They lie at the foundation of individual, social and political safety. No governments, no communities, none of the links of civil life, could hold together a day without their shield. They are the cement of each within itself, and of all to each other. Let it not be said that the responsibility is for civil misconduct, not crime. This is a distinction that can avail Masonry nothing. Nobody dreams of indicting innocent masons for the murder of Morgan; but only of putting an end to the institution for the sufficient reason that guilty masons took his life through an ignorant misunderstanding or corrupt perversion of their ties to that institution. It is this that brings legal guilt home to the institution, on the question now raised as between itself and society. It shows the insti-

tution to have been the moving spring to the crime; the influence paramount that instigated it; the superior power, I do not say that commanded—this is not necessary to the argument—but that *caused* the crime. Here is enough, (unless indeed this fungus of human device, this mere craft of man, is to go on with its claim to co-equality with Christianity,) quite enough to bring it under the broad conservative maxim of the law to which I appeal. We must look at the maxim in its highest reason; not merely as one to be pleaded in a court of common law, but designed, in the far wider range of its dignity and justice, to throw its protection over mankind. We make Masonry amenable to it, in the only way in which the American people in their collective capacity, can apply its saving efficacy, viz; by insisting that the institution which caused the crime, be dissolved. The great coroner of the nation—such would the press have been on this emergency if it had not shamefully deserted its post—holding an inquest over the dead body of Morgan, could render no other verdict, if the verdict covered the whole ground, than that he came to his death by Masons, *and through Masonry.* If the verdict were qualified by saying the *bad* spirit of Masonry, not its good, what difference would this make to the nation, seeing that Masonry in some form or other, was the source of the whole transaction. To the nation, therefore, is Masonry, upon the soundest principles of law, accountable for his death. The safety of the people is THE SUPREME LAW, which will disdain all shadowy distinctions in a case of this magnitude and concern. It is from Masonry that the Commonwealth has received detriment in the destruction of a citizen, and the old custom of Rome should be revived; the people must take care that it receives no more.

This conservative maxim of jurisprudence, is seen in its broadest application when in force between nation and nation. The entire family of independent nations, ac-

knowledge its indisputable validity. Hence governments, and consequently nations, are held responsible for a mere indignity offered to the person of a citizen of another nation, although the nation, collectively within whose limits the indignity may have been committed, be free from all imputation of an intentional guilt. History abounds with such facts, and with accounts of wars, followed up to the overthrow of nations, growing out of them. I might mention, as a very fresh illustration of the general doctrine, the course just pursued by France in despatching a squadron to the Tagus, to avenge the degrading treatment shown to a French subject in Lisbon, although it would appear to have been denied that the Portuguese king (Don Miguel) had given any sanction to the outrage; for the French minister's note of reclamation, does not undertake positively to say that it had his sanction. Had Lisbon even been bombarded and its innocent inhabitants suffered, it would be nothing more than we have seen, in effect, in analogous cases among independent nations. Yet masonry, in defiance of all this, in defiance of the absorbing and transcendent nature of public rights, whether as claimed and exercised so invariably by states within themselves, or internationally, affects to think that it is not to answer for an offence committed by the immediate members of its own body, *acting from a spirit infused into them by that body.* The latter ingredient makes the case far stronger than the one just cited, or any other likely to occur between states; not to mention other enormities in the case of Morgan that recoil *de jure*, and, as we shall see presently, *de facto*, too, upon the lodge. But what am I saying? Why do I forget myself? With governments masonry will hold no parallel; with nations it will hold no parallel; nothing but Christianity is its compeer! The Lodge and the Church, are ever in celestial glory coupled. Christianity is not answerable for the bad deeds of Christians; therefore, masonry must not be

answerable for the bad deeds of Masons! Such is the consummate blasphemy of masonic logic. Sometimes, indeed, it will stoop a little. It will transiently condescend to compare itself with the senate of the United States; or, being fond of old things, to the old Revolutionary Congress. It is in the matter of *secrecy*, that it thus comes below its heavenly aspirations. The comparison purports, that as nations sometimes transact their affairs with closed doors, the *nation of Freemasons*, have also a good right to close theirs eternally, with the superaddition, *en bagatelle*, of eternal oaths, and penalties, lest they come to be opened.

Let us look into the moving spring of all this self-exaltation. It may not lie so much below the surface as that common penetration cannot easily get to it, if it will but be exerted. I am unwilling to transgress upon your kindness by making my letter too long; but the subject is full of interest.

The public have so long been familiarized to the name of Freemasonry, and it urges its claims upon the public so imperiously, that we have not yet learned to treat it as it deserves to be treated; that is, with nothing more nor less than justice. Through the same cause, its own sensibilities have got into the worst state of morbidness, so as to be vulnerable to the slightest touch. Wrapping itself up in its exclusiveness, it has no ear for the truths of this world. It seems as if neither its understanding nor its moral faculty, could be reached by them. It asks a standard by which to be judged applicable to no association of individuals of subordinate and secular organization, in existence. If this standard be denied, it puts forth complaints of hardship, and anon falls into paroxysms of fury, as if the foundations of the world were struck at;

> Assumes the god,
> Affects to nod,
> And seems to shake the spheres.

This is ever its magisterial port. Remote ages are invoked, and names of renown among the quick and the dead; the cardinal virtues are marshalled as testimonials, beaming like the fires of Eleusis, to overpower the skepticism or silence the contumacy of all who presume to breathe a doubt against its purity or raise a finger against its sway. It is fit, says Bacon, that we sometimes burn incense where bad odors have been raised. So it is with masonry. Thousands who join it by crossing the threshold of a lodge but once in their lives, because they find that once enough, know no more of what passes there afterwards, than of what is going on in the regions to which Ulysses descended. But by setting out these names, by dwelling upon by-gone centuries, and unrolling the faded catalogue of its other merits, which the uninitiated are to take upon the credit of its own knights in buckler, it seeks to draw aside the understanding from a scrutiny into its more recent achievements, and all its existing deserts. It may be profitable to detach ourselves, for a moment, from these demands upon our reverence, and look at the case before us under a change in the outward circumstances, but of none whatever in the real substance. This mode of viewing it, may open an avenue through which the judgment can pass, without the common hinderances, to right conclusions on the character and deeds of Masonry.

Let us suppose, then, that a new society had been formed in the United States about five years ago, under a name before unknown to us, and modelled, we will also say, after one abroad; for example, in Constantinople. For convenience, we will give it a name. We will suppose it to have been called, "*The Brethren of the Sun and Moon, companions of the Stars, and Knights of the crimson turban.*" Let us suppose that some of the members of this society, a dozen we will say, had, with the aid of certain signs known among themselves, and to all moslems, but of which others knew nothing, laid a

conspiracy against the liberty and life of one of our people and destroyed both, for breaking some of its own self-created rules. Our supposition includes the idea of secrecy, as fundamental to their rules; and it regards the society as composed of Americans as well as foreigners. Let us further and lastly suppose, that these titled and turbaned associators had then, by virtue of certain cabalistic vows that bound them to their society and to each other, with an energy as if inscribed on the banner of the prophet, continued to defy, for full four years out of the five of the society's existence, all our courts and juries to convict them of this conspiracy and murder, although their guilt was so flagrant that no intelligent mind would think of doubting it:—what would not have been the feeling of the people every where against such a society, and what lawful means would have been left untried for its suppression? Now, here is the case of Morgan and Masonry, simply but substantially stated. The only defect is, that, for brevity's sake, I concede too much to Masonry in the case assumed.

And, is there any thing in the masonic society that should exempt it from the fate to which such a new-born society would have been exposed? What is it that gives to the former, privileges beyond any other association of men, that we should not honestly and fearlessly denounce it, and trample upon it, as its own adherents trample upon the law? What is the meaning of the statutes of *præmunire*, of which the horn-books of the law give us an account? Do we not know, that the essence of the offence at which they were levelled, consisted in introducing into the land a power above the law; something that prevented its fair execution? And has not masonry done this very thing in Morgan's case? Who will say that prohibitory statutes might not be enacted against the Institution in New York? There would have been little hesitation, we may be assured, in bringing the Turkish

society, the case of which I have put, under the sharpest penal legislation, if it had not been made to disappear under more immediate bursts of public detestation. And on what plea should masonry escape? Its antiquity? This is precisely the strongest reason for putting it down. Ancient abuses are sure to be the most formidable, in every community disfigured by their existence. They make a claim to sanctity on this ground, like the English rotten-borough system, and work evil the more fatally under every form. Time is a power which the artful play off upon the credulity of mankind. Do we require the proof? How else could it have happened, that masonry has stood even to this day in a country like ours, whilst indulging itself in pageantries and taking to itself titles, that have not only been banished from European countries, but that surpass all Asiatic exaggeration, and have been forced to seek refuge in the uncivilized or ruffian tastes of such courts as Timbuctoo and Algiers? Positively, there is an excess in them, a picture of elaborate burlesque, revolting to all rationality, and that might well startle the fabled Momus, could he raise his visor to behold them. The explanation is historical, but where is any longer the excuse? Whatever the more recent date of its regular formation in Britain, Masonry rose up in Europe, in times full of barbarism. It has remained at anchor, surrounded by its prejudices, whilst the current has borne the rest of society onward, enlightening it in all ways, but in none more than in getting rid of mysticism and pomposity, not only in government, but in all the concerns of life. To these two attributes masonry clings with an especial tenacity. She would have the world imagine, that the charity which other societies can dispense with a simplicity befitting this virtue, and which heaven teaches every man to bestow with open palm upon his brother man, though he be no brother mason, must all be performed in conjunction with mimic signs,

the memorials of a rude and tyrannous age. It was an age when the strength of the human understanding was displayed by its belief in astrology; when freedom was shown by the vassalage of the common people; and when barons and bishops not being able to write their names, made their significant marks instead thereof; after the fashion, we may suppose, of some of the still enduring symbols of freemasonry! Such was its peculiar age, such the advancement of intellect, such the condition of civil liberty in the atmosphere of which it inhaled its nutriment. An appropriate and beneficial pattern, for moulding the principles and warming the affections of American republicans!

The follies over which time throws its mantle in the case of this Institution, are egregious and grotesque. Any mind that will contemplate them in the abstract rather than the concrete, must get awake to their exorbitancy. But these might be overlooked perhaps, on the principle of leaving all men to the fruition of their own tastes, did not time do much more for masonry. Its awful hoar becomes a cover for its downright enormities. This is a strong expression, but not too strong—not strong enough—as what I am now to state will prove. The fiends *who actually took the life of Morgan*, have not, as we know, to this hour been discovered; but some of the brotherhood who had a hand in the conspiracy, have been convicted and sent to prison. Will it be credited, that these convicts are still permitted to retain their membership in the New York lodges? *This is the fact.* They are the companions of felony in the jail, and of masonry out of it; one day consorting with the brotherhood of malefactors; the next, with their own brotherhood! You, gentlemen, are probably aware of this fact. I derive it not from the antimasonic newspapers alone, but, recently, through other channels; for at first I thought there must be some mistake, and abstained from mention-

ing it in my former letter. It seemed too much for belief. Would not language have failed to convey the sense of universal indignation, had any other society than that of ancient freemasonry fallen into such conduct? Would not any other have been blasted by every tongue, every pen, every *press*, in the nation? Let the presses devoted to masonry answer. But how many of them have blazoned to the world this *Masonic* enormity? Perhaps they have not known of it? Benighted sentinels, they are always in ignorance. Perhaps they wait for the technical evidence? Cautious sentinels, they are never too quick in firing! no, not *at* masonry, for the world; but O how prompt, how valiant, how terrible, the discharge at its foes! how the trumpet of war sounds! how the clans assemble! how the towers of the Lodge-universal are manned! what signals are given out! what chivalry is poured forth! how

> Masonic drums, enthusiastic,
> Are beat with types, instead of a-stick.

The last conflagration itself seems approaching when masonry is threatened. This is all in virtue of its antiquity. Its liege subjects bow down in homage, and being "ungirt and uncovered" after the olden time, pledge to their Idol "life and limb and terrene honor." This is ancient masonry. This is the Institution that claims respect for its antiquity, reverence for its purity, and support because it is "*persecuted;*" the Institution that takes convicts to its arms, receives them into its holiest places! If a Juvenal should rise up among us, here is a masonic scene worthy of immortal verse, or there is none such to be found in the satires of the Roman bard.

A few more reflections and I will conclude. When masonry calls the name of Washington to its aid, it commits a profanation rivalling, in its way, the murder of Morgan as a public crime. It is difficult to speak of it

and maintain a proper decorum; as if that matchless patriot and hero, he who founded our Republic and therefore gave it its laws, who led us through the countless trials of a seven years' war without a single violation of the law, as if he, could he have lived to see the day when a band of conspirators from the brotherhood would ferociously murder a citizen and then defy the law, under oaths and salvoes which but for masonry they never would have dreamed of,—as if he would not have been the very first to uproot all its foundations, could he have witnessed this spectacle. As surely as he always vindicated the supremacy of the law, so surely would he have given up masonry when he found it stronger than the law. As surely as he tore to pieces his oath of allegiance to George III., that once bound him to monarchy, so surely would he have given to the winds all the extra-judicial and bombastical oaths that once bound him to masonry. There are some persons belonging to this Institution, who cannot or who will not reason upon the subject of it; but from enlightened and candid masons we may hope otherwise; and before the great body of the public we have a right to expect, that it will be considered and treated like any other source of danger to the public. Its charity, like all other virtue, would survive the stroke of death, and find other channels through which to diffuse its relief among the sons of men. Above all, masonry is out of place in the United States. It is a hideous exotic. It is foreign in its original conception, and in all its present habits. Its complication and concealments are not American, nor its ceremonial, nor any part of its hyperbolical nomenclature. An atmosphere of political freedom and openness, is not its element. It has nothing fairly to do here, and as its spirit is active, it will be doing mischief. The wonder is, that it should have existed as long as it has done under institutions so totally opposite, in genius, to its entire creed and opera-

tions. It is too exclusive, too demanding, too intense in its sympathies within its own orbit, to have favor with a people jealous of all movements apart from their own body, where no oaths tie down, no mysteries darken the path of conduct. It has escaped the hand of American reform chiefly because, to the bulk of the people, it has remained unknown; but now that a stupendous crime against society committed *through masonry*, and remaining unpunished *through masonry*, has inexorably fastened public scrutiny upon the Institution, its numberless other incongruities with our system, political and social, are driven one after another from their lurking places, and the glory of its overthrow, it is hoped, will be added to the many other victories of American good sense, over ancient abuses. May it be swept from our land, like the rotten borough system from England; which, in its time, has had as stout defenders. The privileges of such a relic of other days as Old Sarum, the ultra aristocracy used to say were as valuable there, as some amongst us would have it believed those of the lodge are here; but as they are about to have their jubilee in England for the extirpation of the one monster, let us have ours for the extirpation of the other. Each celebration would attest the triumph of reason over folly, tyranny, and craft; and their simultaneous echoes, could they be heard together, would alike redound to the honor as well as durable advantage of both nations.

I have the honor to remain with great respect, your obedient servant,

RICHARD RUSH.

REPLY OF HON. RICHARD RUSH

To Amos Ellmaker, John Bear, Samuel Wagner, J. F. Charles, Adam Bare, H. G. Long, Samuel Parke, E. C. Reigart, George Heckbert, Z. McLenegan, T. H. Burrowes, George Mayer, H. Mehaffy, in behalf of themselves and the Antimasonic citizens of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

York, Pennsylvania, August 13, 1831.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your letter of the 9th of this month, in which, among other things, you are pleased to express a wish for yourselves and other antimasonic citizens of your vicinity, that I would allow my name to be considered as among those from which a candidate for the Presidency is to be selected at the National Convention representing this party, intended to be held at Baltimore in the month of September next. I am most gratefully sensible to the signal confidence and good will on the part of those with whom the intention of offering this distinction to me, has originated; and from the nature of the offer I cannot content myself with only a formal reply to it. The antimasonic party itself, is of comparatively recent birth in our country, which prompts me the more, under the relation towards it, in which your kind letter would place me, to speak of its principles and its object.

When I first gave to the public, for whatever they might be worth, my sentiments on Freemasonry, in the month of May last, my aims were exclusively public. Personal advantage I did not seek, and least of all, office. In my letter on that occasion, and in a more recent one, I expressed myself with a zeal and fulness appropriate to the extraordinary importance of the truths which I believed myself to be maintaining on a momentous public question; the most so in my opinion of any which has ever yet, as a home question, engaged the attention of the American people. But when I did so, I could not but know, that the time at which my antimasonic fellow-

citizens contemplated nominations for the two highest offices in the union was very near at hand, and the public opinion appeared to be still at large as to the individuals who might be selected. Hence, I must unequivocally be considered as out of view for either nomination, lest a doubt should be thrown upon my motives. The bare existence of such a doubt would be unworthy of a cause which, pure as any that ever arose in any country, ought not to be sullied by the breath of suspicion resting upon the person who is to have the high honor of being associated with it, as you would propose to associate me. Under a different train of circumstances, I would have acceded to such a distinction, though with a proper distrust of myself, as the proudest of my life; it being one of which names far higher than mine might be proud. But although I necessarily and unequivocally withdraw from it, I shall be thoroughly with you in your cause; and in giving my reasons, I will take occasion to say something of the approaching Presidential election, which for the first time is to present, as the face of your letter shows, a new element to our politics.

I have examined the grounds on which your cause rests, dispassionately I am sure, as with an absence of every thing selfish. I have seen a frightful crime committed by masons, the most so, all things considered, that has ever stained our country; and committed under the instigations of a masonic spirit. This diabolical spirit may not have been founded on rightful masonry; but from *masonry* nevertheless, and nothing else, it sprung. The crime was of a die no less deep than murder, with every aggravation that a bold conspiracy could superadd; whilst the provocation to it was simply that of breaking one of the rules of masonry. I have seen this crime go unpunished for nearly five years, because the oaths which masonry enjoins have bound down the masons who were privy to it, with a power stronger than the law, so that

detection has been rendered impossible. I have seen our press in a state of vassalage to this institution, to an extent that is appalling. I have seen the institution steep itself in pollution so that no waters can cleanse it, by retaining in full membership criminals legally convicted of having had a hand in this crime, though not absolutely the main actors, and still I have seen the press silent; still seen it cringe, still bow the knee to masonry. I have seen the same press inveighing against publications that aim at exposing these enormities, whilst, insensible to the first rule of justice, it excludes the publications themselves from its columns. To this practice, by which the moral condition of the press in any community may in general be well ascertained, I make a few honorable exceptions; so few, however, that they still leave the narrow spirit and fierce passions of masonry, responsible for this spectacle of moral degradation as regards our press. Another spectacle I have seen not less ominous in its political, than this last is, in its moral bearings. I have seen presses long at war on all other points, long the opposing combatants of public measures and the highest public men, strike up a masonic league, as if by electric impulse, and bandying shouts of masonic rage and devotion, sally forth as co-belligerents against those who arraign the institution for such dangers and enormities as I have mentioned. I have watched their rivalship in bluster and malignity. I have seen how their former wrath against each other has, under this new bond of adhesion, worked itself into explosions of rival fury against the common foe; how a rabid appetite—a match for the canine—and that would *Morganize* if it dared, an appetite as loathsome in its tastes as it is deadly in its purposes, has broken forth from this confederacy of types against those who denounce the lodge. Seeing these things and more, the demonstration to my mind is complete, is irresistible, that masonry has shown itself a

tyrant over the PRESS and a tyrant over the LAW. These are evils in the highest degree alarming. As I view them, there are none others comparable to them, whether as they may come to affect our most important political interests, or our dearest civil rights.

It is therefore my deliberate opinion, that the existence of the masonic institution in our country, is, at this present juncture, a public grievance greater than any other that we experience. *There is obviously no mode of getting rid of it, but to bring public opinion to bear upon it at our elections.* This would be a peaceable, lawful, and would prove in the end an effectual mode. It throws the whole question open to argument, and the people will pass upon it properly. They form the tribunal in whose intelligence we believe, in whose purity we confide, and from whose decision there is no appeal. To enter therefore zealously, and with unshaken purpose, upon the work of effecting the overthrow of masonry through the ballot-boxes, I hold to be a political duty of primary obligation. This is the well-understood object of your party, whilst other objects of public good alike binding upon all parties, are necessarily associated with it. Under every free government, complaint will always be heard. Much will be ideal, having its root only in the discontent of the mind; a portion will be light and transitory; and not a little will arise from causes inseparable from the human condition, which no frame of government nor policy of administration can cure. How many disputatious topics have engaged the passions of contending parties since the federal government has been in operation, which in their day were dwelt upon with an emphasis as if the very being of the nation had been at stake; yet how little do most of them seem when now calmly reviewed; and how steadily has the nation been advancing in prosperity in the midst of them all. But the evils lately come to light, of which masonry is the

parent, are new and startling. We grow amazed as well as alarmed at contemplating them; not through the medium of a heated imagination, but under the severest scrutiny of the understanding. They strike at the vital springs of public and individual safety. They entwine themselves round the whole body politic, poisoning at the fountain head, principles indispensable to its welfare —its existence. Is this merely to declaim? is it to deal only in assertion? Let the following plain queries answer, if there were no others. Upon FACTS do I desire to stand—these are my weapons—with these I feel myself an overmatch for the institution, though it had a host in its service ten thousand times stronger than any it has yet paraded. 1. Have not the courts in New York decided that a mason is an incompetent juror, on the trial of a brother mason? [Here I know what masonry will say—for I know how it creeps into crevices—it will say, so are members of other corporations, where a fellow member is party to the cause; I answer no, not unless you show a pecuniary interest at the bar; but let us pass this by and proceed.] 2. Have not masons when sworn in open court, refused to give evidence that would bear unfavorably upon brother masons, *preferring to be committed to prison for a contempt of Court?* 3. Have not other masons from the same cause refused to be sworn at all when brought before the court, they too preferring a jail; *by both which contumacious refusals the administration of justice has been brought to a stand, in the case of a public crime of unparalleled audacity, terror and guilt?* 4. Has it not happened, that on a prosecution by the whole people of New York against a public delinquent who was a mason, a single juryman who was a mason, stood out against a conviction, whilst to the mind of the eleven not masons, his guilt was considered to be established; and was not this delinquent one of the persons charged with being accessory to the murder of

Morgan; present when he was immolated? 5. *Have not these obstructions to justice grown out of the terrifying oaths which masonry imposes and the penalties coupled with them; whereby the consciences of weak men are overcome, and the consciences of wicked men hardened in their villainy?* 6. Have not masonic lodges, with a total insensibility to shame, such as none but the abandoned fall into, and which casts a portion of the disgrace upon the whole public where it is tolerated, *retained in close fellowship wretches of the fraternity who were pronounced by the laws guilty of having had a share in this horrible conspiracy against the liberty and life of Morgan?*

Who can deny the facts, or any of them, to which the foregoing queries point? Nobody. The Lockport trials, or other developments, have blazoned them to the American people. They are solemn and awakening. They have marked the progress of that mastery over the law which masonry has gained in this whole case of Morgan, whose blood shed by masons, and concealed by masons, still cries for vengeance. Am I wrong then in pronouncing such things paramount evils? Do I go too far in declaring a sober conviction that in conjunction with the apathy of the press under them all, or its intentional and servile shrinking from their indignant exposure, they transcend any others that weigh upon us? Do they not directly tend to lay open the very "veins and arteries of the social system?" to control the highest movements of the political system? Can men hear of them and continue unmoved? Can they wish for the longer existence of such an institution? Can they, as citizens firm in their duty, any longer truckle to it? say that it is harmless, like any other society or club? like the Methodist society, or the Colonization society, or a Presbyterian society, or that of St. George, or St. Andrew,—as is sometimes pretended; confounding all distinctions, and

unwarrantably libelling these societies? The defenders of masonry allege that it is not political. Where do they suppose our senses to have fled when they say so? It may not be political by its express constitution, or any of its formal rules; but if it be not so in *fact*—if it be not so by its *influence*—there is no truth under heaven. It can vanquish the law, and silence the press, yet it is not political! It can tower over the first, which holds the body politic together—it can stop the second, by which the political universe is moved—yet it is not political!! This is to mock, not reason with us; it takes us for blocks—stones—not able to see what is before our eyes. And since masonry has already done all that I have enumerated, who so dull in thought or wilful in infatuation, as not to feel sure that it will, in some form or other, go on with its foul transgressions as occasion may incite, if permitted longer to have foothold in the land. I thence lay it down with a confidence that in my mind admits of no qualification, that the multiplied and proven dangers of masonry, render the effort for its extirpation the highest public duty which our citizens can be summoned to perform at the approaching election of a President.

The contest in which a large and growing number of the freemen of this Union have embarked for pulling down this relic of a tyrannic age, is both animating and ennobling. It will mark a point in history, and impart fresh renown to the American name. We are sometimes prone to imagine that Europe will be directing its eye across the waves to the scenes of our Cabinet or social squabbles, anxiously inquiring into their causes and waiting their issue; when Europe will care no more about them or our other local strife, than of occurrences in the most remote of the planets. Not so will it fare with the onset we have commenced, for such high cause, upon Masonry. In this new battle, our blows will tell

every where. Often indeed has it been attacked before, but not as we are attacking it, through the unbiassed suffrages of an inquiring and intelligent people. Its abuses have often excited the suspicions and its harlequinism been the laughing stock, of the most enlightened portion of the old world; whilst from its revelry, it is well known that persons who have the opportunities for a better kind of festivity, have withdrawn in silent but significant disgust. Nevertheless, from the slowness with which old prejudices are shaken off in that hemisphere, where so much of what exists in their institutions still depends upon the force of prejudice and the delusions of time, the masonic institution has continued to stand. As interested in keeping alive all such delusions, the name of a solitary king or prince may still be seen as its titular patron in the almanacs. But the example of its overthrow in this rising Republic, not by arbitrary edicts, but the power of public opinion at the polls, will be hailed by the wise and liberal in whatever region dwelling; most especially at an epoch when the spirit of real reform over every species of cant and imposition, is abroad in the world. It will eclipse every other achievement now going forward in this inspiriting race. The overthrow of masonry, will be the overthrow of the accumulated folly of ages; of the most revolting scheme of social prostitution ever known to mankind, because one that may and often does place the *chevalier d' industrie*, the very pirate himself, side by side with the honest man, and this under sanction of oaths and penalties; of a system of imposture that may compare with the performances of Hindostanese jugglery; of an organ of charity, calculated to throw disrepute even upon that virtue; and of a source of danger to law and government which makes masonry, as by its late deeds in this country, a just object of horror. Of its social prostitution, we have the beaming proof in our day; proofs as incontestable as deplorable, in the fact

of convicts from a jail, in Morgan's case, being allowed to resume their seats in the Lodge as the boon companions of its other inmates. What a fraternity! what pretensions, what practices! Our victory over it, besides rendering incalculable benefits to ourselves, will redound to our glory abroad, if we thirst for such glory, beyond any event since the declaration of Independence. No other can stand out in such bold and bright relief. It will become the watchword to other countries. In good time, we shall see the institution begin to totter. Our victory will be akin to those we won upon the ocean, in this—that it will be seen of all nations and send its echoes among all; for the ocean is not more the common highway of all nations, than masonry is their common reproach, if not for its crimes, at least for its folly. It is remarkable that the peals of triumph in each case will have been consecrated, in our victory, to the maintenance *of personal rights.* On the ocean we fought against impressment; and we were first roused against masonry, from detecting its fell spirit in the murder of an American citizen. By holding the institution responsible for the life of Morgan, we give to the world a noble pledge of the immeasurable price we set upon personal security; a principle denoting the fame of the most illustrious nations of the earth, and chiefly of Republics like our own, where the Ægis of the State should ever be ready with its protection, if the meanest citizen be wronged in but a hair of his head; where all should rally round the Law, as the majesty and only earthly majesty that all worship. This is the true democratic principle of our institutions, their most exalted attribute; and such conduct, would be acting with a resolution and a spirit worthy of the principle.

Yielding to the moral force as well as political obligations of such considerations, far inferior in urgency do I account all other causes upon which the approaching

Presidential election can turn, in comparison with that of fully suppressing this great source of public mischief; this new discovered *imperium in imperio*, gnawing at the heart of our political system. I am not, and have not been, the advocate of the present occupant of the executive chair; but the public evils, real or alleged, of his administration, are as nothing, in my sight, the sum of them, to those which may spring from masonry—this power of darkness that fights against the rest of society, and fights unseen; that throws its bolts whilst the hand is hidden. As his successor, I was, and desired to remain, friendly to the claims of a distinguished and highly gifted citizen of the West, whose maxims of public policy I approve, and towards whom I would never wish to abate in the feelings of personal respect and attachment. But all the benefits which in other respects might be augured from his abilities and patriotism, and I render a free homage to both, would be no compensation, in my judgment, for the longer existence among us of this baneful institution; this vain-boasting despot, that grows more exacting as it is more criminal; that would sacrifice every thing to its own selfish and desperate passions;—this TYRANT, that stalks over liberty, life, the law, the press. I therefore go with you in your cause, from my genuine conviction of its deeper and broader foundations than any other. It seeks the extirpation of an evil of over-shadowing magnitude. Other evils have their day and are gone; but this is permanent, this will be fastened upon us forever, unless we resolutely determine to remove it by our votes. Your cause too, full of invitation to exertion, presents a collateral inducement from which patriotism may gather hope. Being less exclusively bent upon all the exasperating topics that agitate the other parties, it may the better be enabled after triumphing upon its own principle, as triumph it must, to regard those topics with something of a calmer

spirit, and approach the task of their adjustment under auspices more propitious. I place your cause foremost then, of all, at the coming election, in its principles, its objects, and its character: foremost in its elevation and range; foremost beyond comparison in its direct aim; and even foremost in the incidental good that it may have the opportunity of accomplishing. In this decision, I perform what I take to be my highest duty to my country. I am glad to perceive from your letter, that you will expect your candidate to be decidedly opposed to the masonic institution, in addition to other requisites in him to which you will naturally look. I dedicate myself to such a cause as of justice supreme; of dignity supreme; supreme in its connection with the public good. And may its increasing adherents, as the power of reason and truth goes on daily to swell its numbers, soon vindicate the authority of the law outrageously prostrated by masonry, the claims of humanity barbarously trampled upon by masonry, the independence of the press fearfully undermined by masonry, and the repose of society grievously invaded by masonry. Then will our country have abundant and enduring cause of joy, at seeing her borders freed from this "whole dark pile of human mockeries."

Renewing the expression of my sensibility to the very gratifying tenor and object of your letter, I remain, gentlemen, with great respect, your most obliged and faithful servant and fellow-citizen.

RICHARD RUSH.

LETTER OF HON. RICHARD RUSH TO HON. JOHN C. SPENCER.

York, Pennsylvania, November 8, 1831.

DEAR SIR:—I very much regretted that I lost the pleasure of seeing yourself and friends from New York who did me the favor of a call as you passed through this place on your way to Baltimore. I came down stairs a moment after receiving your cards, and was truly sorry to have missed the opportunity of taking you all by the hand.

Had you again taken this route on your return from Baltimore, as I cherished the hope you would do, it would have given me the opportunity of saying to you in person what I have been happy to say to others, whenever I have had the opportunity; viz: how highly I was pleased with what you did in the Convention. A better selection than Mr. Wirt, could not, in my opinion, have been made. With genius, as well as high cultivation, the true elements of greatness unite in him. It is known to me from the highest source of information, that when Mr. Jefferson was about to retire from the Presidency, to be succeeded by Mr. Madison, he expressed a strong wish that Mr. Wirt would consent to come into the House of Representatives of the United States, that he might assume the ascendency in that body, and with it the influence in our national affairs, then growing critical, to which his commanding abilities and probity would have destined him. But, little ambitious of public honors, the road which then lay open to him under auspices the most brilliant, he declined. His services during twelve years in the executive department of the government since, has identified him with the course of public policy pursued during those years, whilst to no part of it does he stand in the attitude of a partizan.

It is for the same reason that I like his antimasonry. He has taken it up as a statesman and a patriot, not as a partizan and persecutor. He was startled at seeing the administration of the laws stopped by the secret power of the Masonic Institution, and felt at once the duty of seeing them restored to their supremacy. He knew nothing of the fatal agency of this institution in robbing the laws of their efficacy, until the assembling of your Convention at Baltimore. How should he have known it? Did the press in Baltimore where he lived, or in Washington to which he sometimes went, inform him? Never. You and I know, you better than I, that it was simply because the old established newspapers of the land refused in almost every instance to publish the facts brought to light by the trials in the courts of New York demonstrative of the dangers of masonry, (shame on their ignoble fears of this institution,) that antimasonic newspapers were set up *for the special purpose of publishing them.* And was Mr. Wirt, busied in the highest walks of an exalted profession, which he exalted still higher by his genius, eloquence and worth, to hunt these up, hundreds of miles off, and most of them in the interior, whilst the boasted sentinels all around him—those sentinels that seldom failed to serve up to him the particulars of every case of the least note in the police annals of Bow-street, or the Mansion House in London—were silent? These vigilant sentinels indeed, would perhaps, admit the mere word antimasonry into their columns, but most commonly with a fling at its "*fanaticism,*" lest they should be thought weak-minded. But from which of them would he have learned those details of the Morgan trials that go to show, in the words of his excellent letter, that masonic oaths "*are not considered by those who impose and take them as mere idle and unmeaning words, but as solemn obligations, to be practically enforced;*" that the audacious conspiracy against the life of a citizen "*was not, as has been commonly supposed,*

the act of a few ignorant men alone, but was engendered in the lodges themselves, enforced under their direction and supported at their expense; the conspiracy embracing within its sweep, men of all degrees, with too much reason to believe that the secret energy of the masonic spirit had entered and polluted even the temple of Justice; and with the most demonstrative proof that the persons who had entered into these unhallowed oaths, considered their allegiance to the Lodges as of higher obligation than their allegiance to the laws of their country," from which of them could he have learned these things, or any of them? From none, I confidently answer, that he either saw or had an opportunity of seeing. When the lights of your Convention brought these convictions home to him in ways too authentic to be refuted, his mind, accustomed to investigate, weigh and decide—a mind not to be deluded by fallacies, but able to see truth and not afraid to speak it—did not hesitate to pronounce such an institution "*at war with the fundamental principles of the social compact, as a wicked conspiracy to the laws of God and man,*" and therefore "*to be put down.*"

It is said, that for all this he is still a mason, and that we have got a mason for our candidate. It may be so. All governments have their own laws, and so has the government of masonry. The latter can execute them too, which is more than can be said of the government of New York, at present; with a population already nearly equalling that of the province of Holland, in the day of all its grandeur. The British government held all our fathers to be British subjects long after the declaration of independence; up indeed to the peace of '82, for we know that it was only then that our independence was acknowledged by Britain. Mr. Wirt has got himself into this sort of dilemma. He has taken up arms against masonry, but what of that? He is nothing but a rebel. Some British

jurists even hold, that the *anto nati* are good British subjects to this day. By this doctrine, our President Jackson is one, and the venerable Carroll into the bargain. This British doctrine of perpetual allegiance mainly drew us into a war on the question of impressment, in 1812. It was a sovereign right, a sovereign claim, that Britain could not forego. So masonry, like a true sovereign, also sets up this sovereign claim. The government of the United States, unfettered by feudal maxims, we are taught to believe will allow expatriation; but once a *mason*, always a *mason*, it seems, unless they expel you for *unmasonic* conduct; which, (be it remembered,) to be leagued in with murderers, IS NOT, for masons convicted of this petty kind of business in Morgan's case are still retained in the lodges. You cannot shake off your allegiance. You cannot resign of your own accord, as I have come to learn latterly, in whatever decorous and parliamentary terms you may lay your resignation at the feet of this lord paramount. This would be to leave you too much to the exercise of your own free agency, should you happen to change your mind after having for once in your life put on the livery of the lodge; and if you arraign it, O! if you arraign it, for an outrage tenfold worse than any single one Britain ever committed against us, why what a wretch you are, what an apostate, what a perjured traitor, what a vile rebel, and I know not how much in addition, that might be called from the courtly vocabulary of masonic vengeance. This is Mr. Wirt's predicament, at the present juncture. Such is the manner in which the champions of this order or their bottle holders, insult the good sense of the community; such some of the fruits of its wild and hideous oaths. They would excite nothing but the superlative, unmingled derision of all sensible men, were it not for the tragic consequences to which they lead. We may laugh at a conclave of mummers, dressed up in their antics;

but we cannot laugh when we see it become a deliberative assembly for the shedding of human blood. It is then time to be roused to action.

On the point of masonic oaths, I must beg you to turn to Livy, 10th book, section 38. Reading him a few evenings ago, I was much amused with falling upon a passage, the whole of which I would copy, but that it is too long. It is one in which he describes the *linen legion* of the Samnites. From this legion, those who contend for the antiquity of masonry, may, if they think fit, date its origin. It may at least supply their antiquarian researches with some good hints, for although not making quite such a stretch into backward time as the days of king Solomon, it leaps over John the Baptist. The Samnites being at war with the Romans, assembled their whole force at Aquilenia. A piece of ground in the middle of the camp was enclosed with hurdles and boards, and covered over head with a linen cloth, the sides being all of an equal length. Within this enclosure sacrifices were performed, according to directions read out of an old linen book. When these were finished, the General ordered a beadle to summon every one of those who were most highly distinguished by their birth or conduct. Besides other solemnities calculated to impress the mind with religious awe, there were altars erected, about which lay the victims slain, and centurions stood around with their swords drawn. The soldier was led up to the altar, rather like a victim than a performer in the ceremony, and was bound by an oath not to divulge what he should see and hear in that place. He was then compelled to swear, in a dreadful kind of form, containing execrations on his own person, on his family, and race, if he did not go to battle whithersoever the commanders should lead; and if either he himself fled from the field, or, in case he should see any other flying, if he did not immediately kill him. At

first, some, refusing to take this dreadful oath, were put to death round the altars, and their mangled remains lying among the carcasses of the victims, served as a warning to others not to refuse. At length the requisite number was obtained, and this legion, says Livy, sixteen thousand strong, was called the linen legion, from the covering of the enclosure. Its soldiers were furnished with painted and gilt shields, and plumed helmets. The Romans laughed at their empty parade, and were horror struck at their abominable oaths and sacrifices, polluted as the latter were with human blood mingled with that of cattle: and under Lucius Papirius Cursor, the renowned Roman leader, made quick work with the "linen legion," part were cut to pieces, and part put to flight.

May this prefigure the defeat of Masonry at the polls, under Wirt, as our Papirius Cursor; for surely it is alike ridiculous by its empty parades, alike odious by its abominable oaths, and has alike been polluted with human blood. In my opinion, we could not have a better leader. I wholly mistake his character, if he be not found as resolute and undaunted, as he has heretofore been unobtrusive. Yet how is this accomplished and gifted man already treated? Liberal, candid, unanswerable as are the sentiments of his letter, how has Masonry begun to deal with them? Reason away their force it cannot; but what epithets are too coarse, what denunciations too bitter for it to employ against their author? This conduct is in unison with the fierce and intolerant spirit of the order; with its exclusiveness, with its anti-social pledges, under sanctions both unnatural and unlawful, to a common support and to common resentments. That men of refined and elevated minds who may be Masons, act under such pernicious influences, nobody will pretend; but who will pretend, that the great bulk of the Masons of our country are made up of such men, or that

it is they who give impulse to the order? It is notoriously otherwise, for men of this cast have least to do with Masonry, even if Masons. It "*drops from their minds*," as it did from our Wirt's and from Washington's, who did not enter a lodge, I believe, for thirty years. Such men are rarely, very rarely, of its counsels; they become shy, though nominally they may be upon its lists. Let Masonry alone, bow down to it, permit it to do as it pleases, without impeachment of its ways, and it will be at peace with you; but when its portentous oaths, acting upon ferocious or infatuated bigots, become the direct means of tremendous crime, we are not to raise a manly voice against its dangers, but at the peril of proscription! We must not discuss the question of its demerits; all mouths must be closed, and peaceably to refuse our preference in the ballot-boxes to those who cling to an institution that in a long and fairly contested battle with the laws, has absolutely overcome them, and to this hour remains in possession of the victory,—is persecution! We must merely leave the institution to go down under the operation of a quiet, harmless, unspeaking public opinion! Admirable theory this, for all who belong to the school of the murderer Thurtell, or the pirate Gibbs! Offend as much as you please, and with the more enormity the better; we visit you with no disqualification, no penalty, no act of any kind; only just leave you to your own reflections, and the gentle, silent corrective of public opinion;—go on, we have no fears that your *clique* will hold together against this corrective! This is the enlarged and philanthropic theory that pronounces the decrees of rank injustice, even "*fanaticism*," upon all *political* antimasonry. It would have any thing but that. It would not for the world have the lodge pursued as an offender, or those who uphold it, not voted into office. It would leave it to die of itself, by an *anthanasia*, a sort of *easy death*, such as Hume predicted for the exit of the

British constitution. I dislike the cant of Puritanism, and all cant; but the cant of Masonry and its *neutral auxiliaries*, is the worst we have ever had. They give us cant about its religion and about its charity, in the midst of the terrible inroads upon the peace of society and the authority and sanctity of our jurisprudence, of which its furious and misleading spirit has demonstrably been the parent.

Let us, then, with Wirt as our leader, dedicate ourselves to its overthrow. Preposterously confounding all distinctions, it tells us that it is no more responsible for the murder of Morgan, or for his blood being still unavenged, than the Catholic religion is responsible for the crimes of the inquisition. But let us put down their sophistry on the election ground, as it has been a thousand times answered in argument and by facts. They say that our cause is a narrow one; too narrow to form the basis of a cause that can be national. And is it in the country where the stamp act was resisted, and the tea tax, that we hear this language? Too narrow! The laws have been prostrated, they are still under foot, they cannot be executed; it is masonic oaths and penalties that cause this disgraceful spectacle; we have proved it in a manner clear as light; we want to remove the superincumbent pressure, for Masons will not do it themselves by giving up their charters, which we should prefer. This is our great, our only aim. We want to raise up our laws from their fallen condition; we want to take Masonry off of them, to haul it away now and forever for so unparalleled, so absorbing an affront on the body politic. Die of itself! What tyrant ever gave up power, until forced to do it? No. It must be expelled by the spirit and perseverance of the people; it must be done at the polls; there is no other way; it is reasonable, it is just, it is indispensable that we should so expel it; it is an imperious duty as well as a constitutional right. The press wears its

chains, or bent upon nothing but party and personal squabbles, blindly overlooks all principle at stake on the antimasonic cause, and the real facts on which it is founded. The people must rise above the press, and make it blush for its past subserviency, and its past apathy. The civil magistracy must be restored to its efficiency, for five years ingloriously lost among a people boasting of their freedom. Call such a cause narrow! Why, its foundations are as broad as the civilized world. No question of tariff or anti-tariff, nullification or anti-nullification, has half its breadth or strength or dignity. These are fleeting topics; questions of what sort of laws we are to have. Our cause presents a question of whether we are to have a master over our law; for Masonry now stands triumphant over them. This is our cause, plain, simple, majestic. It is a cause that in the best days of Rome would have rallied every citizen to its support, and in better days of our own republic would have asserted its rightful ascendency over every other, until its triumph was secured.

Your Convention was fortunate, if I may venture an opinion on this point too, in fixing upon Mr. Ellmaker as a candidate for the Vice-presidency. In Pennsylvania we know him well. He is a man of abilities and learning; possessing innate strength and excellence; prompt, energetic, yet calm-minded. To the nation he is not yet known, but will be appreciated when he is known. He was one of General Jackson's prominent supporters, but left that party at its height of success in Pennsylvania, to aid in putting down an institution that had put down the laws. He is of inflexible honesty; in his opinions very decided, in his conduct, liberal, forbearing and just. He has never sought, but on the contrary avoided public distinction, when within his reach, though so eminently worthy of it. Classically educated, he is fond of literature. This, in conjunction with his legal acquirements and pursuits, has placed him high in the circles of private

and professional life; which hitherto has filled up the measure of his ambition. May the theatre of his exertions be enlarged, and his country have the benefit of his talents and virtues.

Apologizing for so long a letter, I remain, dear Sir, with great respect and esteem, very respectfully yours,

RICHARD RUSH.

REV. HENRY TATEM'S REPLY TO THE SUMMONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER.

[From the Boston Daily Advocate.]

This communication is particularly deserving the attention of all candid men, and especially professors of religion. It is not our province or wish to interfere with the opinions or discipline of any class of Christians, and we present this document (which has recently appeared in the Providence Advertiser) to our readers, not only because it has an immediate reference to the duties of religious men who are masons, but because it presents forcible arguments against Masonry, as an institution of an immoral and irreligious tendency. Many people say they are opposed to Masonry, but are unwilling to carry that question into politics. Here then is a view of Masonry, wholly divested of all political considerations, other than the preservation of wholesome morals and sound principles in a community, which are essential to the preservation of all political institutions, that are worth preserving.

The character of Mr. Tatem, and the circumstances under which his views of Masonry have been published, present the subject as he has discussed it, in a new and interesting light. Mr. Tatem is a Baptist clergyman of Rhode Island; a man of acknowledged piety, unimpeachable integrity, and great influence with the class of Christians among whom he is a preacher. It may be said with truth, that there is not a Baptist clergyman in that State, in whose assertions more entire confidence would be placed by the numerous denomination to which he is attached.

The views of Masonry, presented by Mr. Tatem, as a minister of the gospel, and not as a politician, were not volunteered on his part, or drawn out by a call from Antimasonic Committees, as has been the case with most renunciations. It is a reply to a summons from Masons themselves, preparatory to inflicting upon him, what they regard as a disgrace, expulsion from a Masonic Chapter. In most cases these summonses have been passed over in silence by those they were intended to disgrace. The Royal Arch Chapter of Rhode Island doubtless anticipated a similar result in the present case. They expected to hear nothing from Mr. Tatem, and intended to proceed to his expulsion, which they would hold up to the world, and to his Christian brethren, as an evidence that this clergyman had done some act to discredit his character as a man, and a minister. The salutary example he has set of vindicating his conduct, in withdrawing from the Society of Freemasons, will, we think, operate as a check upon Masonic bodies in their attempt to exercise jurisdiction over individuals who have spoken the *truth* about Masonry, and quietly withdrawn from the institution. Here is an instance of a Mason who merely claimed the privilege of quietly withdrawing from a Society, which he had become convinced was injurious to morals and the laws, being arraigned before a Masonic body as a criminal, though he had not visited their Lodges or Chapters for seven years, had made no public renunciation, and had done nothing more than put his signature to a paper, at the request of a brother clergyman, stating that that clergyman had given the terms of the penalty in the Entered Apprentice oath correctly. For this offence alone, he was summoned to answer before the Chapter; an offence, admitting it to be one, which he had committed as an Entered Apprentice and not as a Royal Arch Mason. This fact shows, that though Masons pretend there is no dependence existing between Lodges and Chapters, yet the latter, charge upon a Mason as an offence against *them* the violation of his oath even as an Entered Apprentice, thus establishing a *concurrent jurisdiction* between the Lodges and Chapters over members of the Lodge, as high as the Master's degree, who are also members of a Chapter. The Rhode Island Chapter here lays down the principle of Masonic discipline, that a Masonic offence, committed in the capacity of

Entered Apprentice, is a crime cognizable not only by the Lodge, but by the Chapter also.

Another fact is of importance in this transaction. It shows that Masonic bodies are determined not to suffer their members to withdraw quietly from them, but will arraign them, if they utter a single word against Masonry, and exert upon them their power of expulsion, which is all the power they *now* dare to exercise in the infliction of Masonic penalties. How striking, too, is the fact, that Masonic bodies are so eager to expel Masons who speak against their Institution, while in New York they retain murderers and man-stealers as honored members, and every where else continue to fellowship the Lodges and Chapters that hold these felons in their embrace, who are entitled to all the privileges of *worthy visiting brethren* in every other Lodge and Chapter in the Union? If a Clergyman tells the *truth* about Masonry, they arraign him as a criminal; but they take no notice, and make no inquiry as a Lodge or Chapter, into the conduct of Masonic bodies, with whom they are in full fellowship, though they know those bodies have approved and sanctioned masonic homicide!

The conduct of the R. I. Royal Arch Chapter in this business, as late as the 22d of March, shows how unavailing it is to hope that Masons will abandon their Institution. They are resolved to maintain masonic jurisdiction and discipline to the last. The advice of the Investigating Committee of the Rhode Island Legislature to abandon their institution, as not only useless but dangerous and pernicious to society, *criminal* in its oaths, the incentive of *murder* in one instance, and liable to be used for a repetition of a like crime, produces no impression. They are resolved to go on, arraigning and expelling every man who will not submit quietly to seal his mouth forever, or yield his entire homage to Masonic despotism!

Whether the Rhode Island Chapter will now expel Mr. Tatem, remains to be seen. His letter, we learn, was presented to the Chapter on the 22d of March. Not a word has been heard from that body since. To meet any attempts that might be made to injure his character, Mr. Tatem, finding the Chapter would not publish his letter, has published it himself, in his own vindication. The public will decide whether the reasons given

for what he has done, are not sound and unanswerable. Masons have called upon him to answer for his unmasonic conduct, and at *their* instance, and not his own, he has fairly presented his views of the Institution, and his reasons for withdrawing from it.

LETTER

To Barzillai Cranston, High Priest, C. Cheney, Secretary, and the other Officers and Companions of the Providence Royal Arch Chapter.

GENTLEMEN :—I have received two communications, of which I here give a copy. The first was not received until several weeks after its date, in consequence of its having been placed in the Providence post office, and not coming in the *Natick* mail to my residence.

Providence, Feb. 27, 1832.

REV. COMPANION TATEM,

Dear Sir :—Several members of the Royal Arch Chapter deem the course you have pursued in relation to Masonry, as inconsistent with the character of a worthy Companion of the Order. It was therefore voted at a meeting of said Chapter, on the evening of January 19th, that you be informed of the existence of this charge, that you might appear, if you should see fit, and answer to the same.

Agreeably to the above vote, I hereby inform you that the Chapter will hold a meeting on the evening of 22d March, at Mason's Hall, when it will be pleased to receive any communication from you that you choose to offer upon the subject above named.

Most respectfully your friend and ob't servant,

CHARLES CHENEY, *Secretary.*

With the polite terms of this note I find no fault, but as a specification of charges against me, which I was arraigned to answer, it is certainly very defective. What course had I pursued in relation to Masonry, inconsistent with the character of a worthy Companion? Was I charged with doing any thing inconsistent with the character of an honest man, a good member of society, a professor of religion, and a minister of the gospel? If so, how was the charge made against me? These were in-

quiries, the perusal of this note or Masonic summons was calculated to produce. Before I received this note, however, I was informed by the High Priest of the Chapter, that it had been sent, and I soon after received from him the following:

Providence, March 13, 1832.

Elder H. Tatem:—Mr. Cheney, Secretary of the Providence Royal Arch Chapter, informs me that the notice which I mentioned to you, was forwarded through the post office, about three weeks ago. I presume his letter contained the vote of the Chapter, the purport of which was, as near as I can now recollect, to notify you to appear at the next meeting, which will be on Thursday evening of next week, (if you see fit,) to answer to certain charges preferred against you. Any other information which I can give you, previous to the meeting, will be cheerfully given, that is, so far as it relates to the subject before the Chapter, and as may be necessary to give you a proper view of the charge or charges against you.

B. Cranston, *High Priest.*

Here, again, the charges against me, are left to be guessed at. Why were they not committed to writing, that I might be prepared to disprove them if they affected my standing as a member of society or of the church?

What had I done worthy of stripes or bonds? In one of these letters, I am permitted to make a communication to the chapter. In the other I am told it is a summons to appear personally and answer to charges. I shall prefer the former course, and will proceed, as I trust, in a spirit of humility, forbearance and Christian charity, to reply to the summons:—

I am surprised that I should be considered a member of your Chapter, or in any way coming under your laws. It is now about seven years, according to the best of my recollection, since I have visited a chapter, and though I have not formally renounced Masonry, yet adopting the law of liberty as I found it laid down in the Constitution of my country, and in the gospel of salvation, I have latterly spoken with freedom of the evils of Freemasonry

and the dangerous character of the oaths and principles it sanctions and inculcates. I have been brought to a full sense of the awful and wicked responsibility of assuming such oaths, to heap upon my conscience, calling God to witness, and taking his holy name in vain to help me to keep and perform obligations which, upon examination, I am entirely convinced no man can live up to, without a frequent violation of his duties as a citizen and an awful departure from his views of his Maker, as a member of a Christian church. I trust, therefore, and believe, that I am not the only one among you who can be charged with not living up to their Masonic oaths, if that is my crime, for I believe many of you to be men who have not only done your duty to society, but adorned the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by an upright walk and conversation. If you have done this, you must have lived in a practical disregard of your Masonic oaths. Let us bless God, my friends, that we have been preserved from using our Masonic oaths in their *genuine* and *literal* meaning, to salve over our consciences when tempted to commit the violation of law and gospel, which they sanction, and enjoin upon us to do, at the call of a wicked and designing brother, or at the urgings of our own depraved and evil propensities. And in view of this, when we see how many men who were once respectable and useful members of society, have through the *influence* of the *same Masonic oaths* that we have sworn to, been guilty of crime; yea, even of bloodshed and murder; of violating the laws of their country, of giving a preference to their Masonic oath over their civil oath, of *aiding man stealers* and *murderers* to escape from justice, and screening them from punishment by refusing to tell the *truth* under oath, or to convict the guilty upon evidence that must convince every honest man; ought we not to 'come out and be separate' from such men, who *still are retained* in lodges and chapters, and with whom, if we adhere

to Masonry, we are compelled to fellowship as with worthy brethren? 'Touch not the unclean thing.'—Ought we not, when convinced, as we now must be, *if we will candidly and prayerfully look at Masonry* (the same Masonry we have solemnly sworn to maintain,) what it has done in New York;—ought we not, I say, in the language of the apostle—"To RENOUNCE THE HIDDEN THINGS OF DISHONESTY, NOT WALKING IN CRAFTINESS NOR HANDLING THE WORD OF GOD DECEITFULLY, BUT BY MANIFESTATION OF THE TRUTH, COMMENDING OURSELVES TO EVERY MAN'S CONSCIENCE IN THE SIGHT OF GOD."—2 *Cor.* iv. 2.

My friends, if you are the children of God, as I trust many of you are, look at this text, and see if it does not speak directly to your conscience, as it has to mine. In the first place, are not the principles of Masonry *dishonest* which enjoin it upon us to conceal all the crimes or faults of a brother master mason, murder and treason only excepted, and they left at our option? Are they not *dishonest* in their *tendency*, in requiring us to apprise a brother of *all* approaching danger if it is in our power, whether it be lawful or unlawful to do so; and to obey his summons, to fly to his relief when we see or hear the grand hailing sign of distress, whether it be lawful or unlawful to assist him? Are they not *dishonest* in restraining the sensuality of a master mason *only* so far as the wife, mother, sister or daughter of a master mason is concerned, thus seeming to *imply*, that it is not "unmasonic" to violate the chastity of any other female. Is this honest? Suppose I should preach a sermon, inculcating the virtue of chastity in my congregation *only* so far as the immediate members of the church were concerned, leaving them to do as they pleased out of the church; what would be thought of me as a teacher of morals and religion? Are not these oaths *dishonest* in requiring us to conceal and never reveal anything relating to Masonry,

though we may be called upon by a legal tribunal to do so? Have not some of you, my friends, discovered lately, that the yoke of Masonry was not easy upon your consciences, nor its burden light? Have you not just been called upon, under a civil oath, to tell the *whole truth*, to reveal what you consider the secrets of Masonry, and have you not found your Masonic oath to *conceal and never reveal*, staring you in the face, and constraining you to obey the laws of Masonry rather than the laws of your country? Am I wrong in this construction of Masonry? In Webb's Monitor, edition of 1818, page 2, of the second part of that book, is found the following among "Rules for the guidance of *Christian* Freemasons." "Be faithful in fulfilling *all* that thou hast engaged as a Freemason; keep always in sight the vows of secrecy: shouldst thou ever violate it, thou wouldst find the torturer in thine own heart, and become the horror of all thy brethren." Here, then, the *Christian* Freemason is enjoined not to 'renounce,' as the apostle exhorts, but to adhere 'to the hidden things of dishonesty,' not 'by manifestation of the *truth* to commend himself to every man's conscience,' but by *concealing the truth* to commend himself to every Mason's conscience!

Secondly, to do this; to conceal the *truth* when called upon as a member of a church, as a witness in court, or as a neighbor, to disclose it, must not Masons be continually "walking in craftiness?" Some of you have labored under this evil. Look at the evasions, denials, asseverations and *constructions* resorted to for the last six years for the purpose of concealing what the oaths of Masons actually were. Was not this a *constant* "walking in craftiness?" Is there one of you, my friends, who to avoid an inference from silence, have not, when hard pushed, used some "craftiness" to conceal the terms of your oaths? Happy is that Mason, whose conscience is clear in the sight of God even from the sin of falsehood

in denying the oaths and secrets of Masonry, as he knew them to be faithfully disclosed to the world. *If we* are free from this, my friends, let us bless God for it, who has kept us from falling in the slippery ways wherein we have trodden. Freemasonry would have led us into the pit of sinning against light and our own consciences by denying the truth, instead of making it manifest; for her monitor tells us, "You must be cautious in your words and carriage and motions, so that the most penetrating stranger may not be able to discover what is not proper to be intimated; and the impertinent or ensnaring questions or ignorant discourse of strangers must be prudently *managed* by Freemasons."

These are the rules laid down by Masonry, which directly militate against the injunction of the apostle to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God, not by *management* to conceal the truth, but by the "*manifestation* of the truth."

And now, my friends, am I not summoned to answer before you for nothing but a manifestation of the *truth* in the sight of God? Some of you are the very cause of my making this manifestation. I shall speak to you plainly the words of truth and soberness. Though my mind had long been severely tried on my Masonic oaths, and I had felt them a heavy load on my conscience, I had endeavored to avoid openly renouncing the "hidden things of dishonesty," not making the truth manifest to my Christian brethren who would come to me to know if Morgan's disclosures of Masonry were true. While I was in this state of mind, almost persuaded of my duty to God and man in this trial, and yet dreading in the weakness of the flesh to endure reproach, and scorn, and reviling, and the loss of friends, by commending myself to God and my own conscience "by a manifestation of the truth," at this time the grand lodge published a solemn appeal to the great Searcher of hearts that they knew of no oath which

sanctioned the sacrifice of life, as the penalty for disclosing Masonic secrets. The name of the High Priest of your chapter was subscribed to that declaration. Here was to my mind a "walking in craftiness" which shocked my whole soul, for I knew that all my Masonic penalties said death and nothing but death. In reply to that assertion, Elder Ray Potter published the penalty of the Entered Apprentice oath which he had taken, sanctioning the cutting of the throat, &c., for a violation of the oath. He appealed to me for the truth of what he had said. Here my trial was brought to a head. I must either continue "walking in craftiness," or make the truth manifest. It was a severe struggle between the pride of the heart and the duty of a Christian as I viewed it. If ever I was anxious to know my duty, it was in this matter, and when I had done my duty, and made the truth manifest, I felt as if a guilty load had been taken from my conscience.

For what I then published I am no doubt now called to answer, because it is all I ever have published. I was called on by Elder Potter to say if he had stated the penalty of the entered apprentice oath right. I then signed the following certificate, with several others.

Warwick, July 25, 1834.

We the undersigned have read a communication signed by Ray Potter in the American of the 19th. From our own personal knowledge, the account therein given of the penalty annexed to the obligation of an entered apprentice mason is correct. Nor have we ever understood or heard any mason express any other meaning of the penalty than that which is plainly expressed by the words of the same, previous to the publication of the address of the grand lodge.

(Signed,) Henry Tatem and others.

In this thing I commended myself to my own conscience in the sight of God by a "manifestation of the truth." That I *did* manifest the *truth* instead of "walking in craftiness" to conceal it as some had done who *denied* that such was the penalty, is manifest from the

fact that afterwards the grand lodge and some of you, my friends, stated this very penalty almost verbatim, and swore to it before a committee of the Legislature. Your High Priest did this, and if *I* am guilty of any thing "inconsistent with the character of a worthy companion of the order," *he* also is verily guilty of the same offence. *I* stated the penalty on my own word without an oath. *He* has sworn to the same penalty before a committee of the Legislature. Let *him* then first be tried before you for breaking the Masonic oath "ever to conceal and never reveal!" When I learn what sentence you pass on *him*, I may better determine whether I will acknowledge your right to condemn me for making TRUTH manifest. How is this, my friends? Suppose I had lied to my own soul, as Ananias did, and declared in the sight of God that I *knew of no such penalty!* Would you have summoned me to answer for *that* offence? I think not, for I have heard of no censure cast by Masons on the committee of the grand lodge. Is it then so, my friends, that Masonry does *not* call her members to account for denying the *truth*, but summons them as criminals and expels them for a "manifestation of the truth!"

Thirdly—Is not masonry verily guilty, in the words of the Apostle, of "*handling the word of God deceitfully?*" I can here only acknowledge, in deep humility, my own sinfulness for so long continuing a member of an institution which as I now am convinced, thus deceitfully handles the word of God, and makes a mockery of solemn and divine things. I acknowledge my error, and ask your forgiveness, the forgiveness of my Christian brethren, and the forgiveness of my God, for this blindness of mind, and hardness of heart. Verily have I sinned and come short of the glory of God, in continuing so long a member of an institution which handles the word of God deceitfully, and which brings upon the minds of its members a

"strong delusion that they should believe a lie." 2 Thessalonians ii. 11.

Nay, I have gone farther, and when I judged of masonry by its *members* who were upright men, and not by its principles and the awful tendency of its penalties, as shown in the murder of a citizen in the State of New York, I even spoke favorably of the institution, thereby justly exposing myself, though ignorantly at the time, to the denunciation of the prophet Isaiah, "woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness." Isaiah v. 20.

I might attempt to excuse myself by saying that I received the oaths, (which I confess with shame I have taken, up to the degree of Knight Templar,) under such circumstances as rendered it impossible to understand them as they really are. That my conscience was quieted, at the time, by assurancy that they would not interfere with my religion or politics, and that I did not *investigate* masonic principles. That I visited the Lodge or Chapter, but a very few times after taking the degrees, and never after the ceremony in the Knight Templar's degree of drinking wine out of a human skull, and imprecating the sins of the owner of that skull upon my own head as the sins of the world were laid upon the head of the Saviour, if I ever violated my masonic oaths; a ceremony which shocked me at the time more than I can express, and which I view as a terrible "handling of the word of God deceitfully," for who but the blessed Saviour could ever bear the sins of another and make expiation and atonement therefor! I might also say that I was encouraged to go on in taking the degrees from a persuasion given me by professors of religion who were masons, that there were certain parts of the Scripture which were more clearly explained in the several degrees than was possible to be met with in any other way. I was told of the great antiquity of masonry. That great and good men had

belonged to it in all ages, that it was the handmaid of religion, the parent of benevolence and good will to man, and that it would enable me to do more good as a preacher of the gospel. I believed these representations, and went on.

It was about fourteen years ago that I was first initiated into the lodge. Within a few months after, I advanced to the Royal Arch degree, and some time after, I took the degrees of Knighthood as they are called. I well remember the horror of my feelings, when the bandage was taken from my eyes, and I found myself partly naked, with men standing around me, pointing at me the implements of death,* and a human skull was handed me to drink from, and I was required to repeat words awful in themselves, and which I cannot distinctly recollect, but which I believe to have been the same I find given in the explanation of that ceremony in Bernard's Light on Masonry. From *that time* I absented myself from the Lodge and Chapter. My mind was afterwards led by degrees to an examination into Masonry, which I am now satisfied is repugnant to the spirit of the religion of Christ. I seek not to justify myself in thus being led blindfold into the mysteries of Freemasonry. As a minister of Christ, I feel that instead of excusing, I ought to accuse myself in this thing. I would hereafter walk softly all my days. I would say, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united." I would pray earnestly for my brethren who are still held in the bonds of Masonry, that they may be led by the Spirit who can alone lead them into all *truth*, not to *love* but to confess and forsake their sins; for we read, "He that *covereth* his sins shall not prosper; but whoso *confesseth* and *forsaketh* them, shall have mercy;" Prov. xxviii. 13, —that they would resolve as I have done, by the blessing

* Drawn swords, or muskets with fixed bayonets.

of God, "to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather *reprove* them,—for it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret;" Eph. v. 11, 12. But now "all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light," and we no longer have the excuse of not understanding the nature and tendency of masonic oaths and ceremonies to harden the heart, and bring the Scriptures into ridicule by wicked and blasphemous ceremonies. "Be ye not therefore partakers with them," my brethren. "Let no man deceive you with vain words" about masonry explaining the Bible, and giving you a key to the white stone with the new name, and being the handmaid of religion. For though before *examining* and reflecting on this subject, "ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light; walk, (therefore,) as children of the light;" Eph. v. 8; and no longer walk in the craftiness of masonry.

Time would fail me to explain the whole wherein Masonry stands charged with "handling the word of God deceitfully." In pretending to give the white stone with a new name, wherein a mocking is made of the Scriptures, by handing a stone to the candidate, on which is written the letters, Hiram Tyre, widow's son, sends to King Solomon. In turning into a play the miracles of Moses in the Royal Arch degree, respecting the Tabernacle and the Holy of Holies, with Aaron's rod that budded and was turned into a serpent. Putting the hand into the bosom, which becomes leprous, and again putting it in and restoring it—while at every mock miracle the High Priest and King exclaim, "Holiness to the Lord," which is also written on their caps or mitres!! But above all, the awful exhibition of God appearing to Moses in a burning bush, where a man attempts to act the Deity and addresses the candidate from behind a bush which is made to burn up with the spirits of turpentine, or some other way, and is not consumed. The man behind using the language of

Jehovah, says, "I AM THAT I AM. Approach not, but take thy shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou standest is holy"!!! The candidate's shoes are taken off. His bandage is taken from his eyes. The bush blazes up, and he is again blinded, and is told, "and Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God." These are some of the handlings of the word of God deceitfully with which Masonry is guilty. My Christian brethren, who are masons, you know that I speak the words of truth and soberness, and I ask you, is this the way to build up the kingdom of the Redeemer? Ought these things so to be? If we have done wrong in so long winking at these things without proper reflection, let us, now that we are in the light, acknowledge our faults. Let us confess and forsake the ways of evil.

They will tell us, as some of you will, probably, tell me, that we cannot be sincere now in leaving Masonry, because we continued so long in it, and did not discover its evil nature of which we now complain. How long, my brethren, did we continue in an unconverted state as children of darkness, rolling sin as a sweet morsel under our tongues? Was this a reason that we never should have acknowledged the error of our ways, and sought until we found peace in believing? When we exhort sinners to repent, ought it to stop our mouths because they can say to us, you continued in sin for years. You had the Bible, but you saw no wickedness in what you did, you were doing as we are now, and if it was wrong, why did you wait so long before you found it out and repented? We cannot believe you sincere now in condemning sin because you was *yourself* so long a sinner. Would this cause us to cease making truth manifest? Should we now continue to go on in sin, because at one time we did not look upon sin as sinful? For the same reasons let us take shame to ourselves that we have been so long deceived by these masonic "handlings of the word of God deceit-

fully," and let us resolve to do so no more. In all that we have sworn to do or not to do as masons, we have sworn *ignorantly*, not knowing what was meant. Now what says the divine law on this subject, which is better than masonic law:—"And if a soul sin, and hear the voice of *swearing*, and is a witness, whether he hath seen it or known it, *if he do not utter it*, then he shall bear his iniquity." "Or, if a soul *swear*, pronouncing with his lips, to do evil or to do good, whatsoever it shall be that a man shall *pronounce with an oath, and it be hid from him, when he knoweth it*, then he shall be guilty in one of these. And it shall be when he shall be guilty in one of these things, *that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing*." Leviticus v. 1, 4, 5.

With the blessing of God, and in the spirit of Christian meekness, I have endeavored to confess. That I am now constrained to do so more openly than I should have done otherwise, is owing to your call upon me to vindicate my conduct, as I suppose previous to expelling me from the Chapter, from which I have long since withdrawn. I was willing to have left masonry as quietly as my own conscience would have suffered me to do. True, I should speak of it with freedom, and when called upon by my Christian brethren to make manifest the truth, I should no longer walk in craftiness. But I had not designed putting my views on paper, or publishing them to the world. I supposed that every mason must know why another mason now left their Lodges and Chapters; and they must know that it would be an idle attempt to exercise jurisdiction over him, and try to compel him to come again into their secret assemblies. The spell of the oath that bound him to obey all signs and summons is broken, and when masonry has once lost her power over the conscience, she can never regain it. If then, my friends, I have used any expressions herein, that may wound your feelings, it is owing to your own course in calling me to answer before

you, as I probably otherwise never should voluntarily answered so plainly in public. While I condemn and renounce your institution, I say to you, as men, that I do not judge you, but leave you to be judged by Him who alone can judge in all things right. In withdrawing from you, as I have done for some time, I felt no hardness, and I trust I feel toward you now, nothing but the spirit of the Christian, instead of the wicked oath-bound ties of masonry. Personally all that I know among you, have never treated me with unkindness to my face; although I have heard of much personal abuse, uttered in my absence, by members of the fraternity. If you now consider it your duty to slander my motives, to revile and denounce me, to accuse me of perjury, falsehood and baseness, I can only say I shall be more sorry for you than for myself. I shall submit in Christian meekness, I trust, and though reviled, revile not again; and I shall see in this influence of masonry upon the minds of men like you, in leading them to speak evil and unkindly of their neighbors, a still stronger evidence that the principles of such an institution must be bad and dangerous. I shall bless God that I no longer call any man "Master," but that one is my Master, even Christ.

Finally, my friends, if you have considered me, up to this time, a member of your institution, I pray you would consider me so no longer. If you charge me only with a violation of my masonic oaths, here is my answer; and I bless God that the spell of those oaths on my mind is broken. If you charge me with any other offence than this, which men who are not masons will consider derogatory to my character as a man or a Christian, I desire you to let me know of what and by whom I am accused. I boast not, but I fear no open attacks upon my character.

While my humble endeavors have been directed—and I trust will continue to be—to edify and instruct my fellow-beings in the cause of the Redeemer, I could not be

insensible to any thing passing around me which had a tendency to withdraw the mind from his pure and holy precepts, and that would cause unnecessary divisions in society, without doing any good, or which tended in any way to mar the happiness which is essentially derived from moral order and universal good will to man. Such I consider to be the nature and tendency of masonry. It is the cause of many of the dissensions that exist in Church and State; for nobody opposed masonry till masonry set up its power to oppose the laws. Society has found this evil existing. They did not bring it here, and shall they be blamed for any inconvenience that arises in the removing of the evil from the land? Were our forefathers chargeable with the disturbance of peace, the divisions between friends and families and churches and societies which were caused by their rising against the despotism of a foreign government? Was Washington a villain, a *perjured wretch*, for violating his solemn oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain? Let us, my friends, who have contributed to fasten this evil and useless institution upon our country, come forward and abandon it to its fate. If all good citizens who are convinced that it is useless, and who cannot wish to use it for improper purposes, will leave it, the rest—who make it a means of promoting wicked and evil designs—will not long be able to keep it up, and many of the dissensions that are caused in Church and State, by this society, will be removed.

I have thus spoken of masonry without intending to say aught against the motives of those who still adhere to it, but as I trust, in the spirit of Christian charity, and as became one whose life was devoted to what he conceived to be for the good of his fellow-creatures, and the advancement of their souls' welfare. To my Christian brethren, who are still masons, I would say, that my object in thus addressing them—if I know my own heart—is, the purity of Zion, the glory of God, and the good of man. And

will you not, dear brethren, instead of censuring me for making the truth manifest, adopt yourselves—as I have done—the injunction of the Apostle, "renouncing the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by a manifestation of the truth, commend yourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Pursue the gospel course, and ease a thousand aching hearts. Suffer me to entreat you by the mercies of God, for the peace of Jerusalem, and the relief of your own consciences, to investigate, reflect and pray that God may direct you to those things which make for peace and holiness; to do your duty to yourselves, your brethren, and the cause of the blessed Redeemer.

Yours respectfully,

HENRY TATEM.

Warwick, March 22, 1832.

REPLY OF HON. RICHARD RUSH

To Henry L. McConnell, William W. Irvin and George G. Barclay, Committee of the Young Men's Antimasonic Convention of the State of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg.

Sydenham, (near Philadelphia,) August 10, 1833.

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter from Harrisburg of the 25th March, conveying to me the unanimous resolution of the Antimasonic State Committee of Young Men, in which that body unite my name in gratifying commendation with Mr. Adams's, in reference to Antimasonry, was duly received; and I beg you to believe that the delay in its acknowledgment has arisen from no insensibility to the honor done me by the terms of the resolution, or your kind manner of imparting it; and least of all from any diminution of zeal in the principles and objects of our cause. Your letter first reached me in the city of

Washington, where I had gone on private business; soon after which I changed my residence from the county of York, to the place whence I now date—circumstances, with the mention of which I would not trouble you, were it not that they created, in conjunction with others, an interruption to the regularity of my correspondence, all which I pray you to accept as my apology for seeming neglect. The resolution being before the public, I have taken the liberty of giving my answer in the newspaper, as well as the liberty of publishing your letter, lapse of time having in all probability separated you as a committee from the place whence you wrote, leaving me at some loss at the present moment where to send my answer with the hope of its reaching you with equal convenience.

How, gentlemen, can my zeal in Antimasonry abate? I take from one of the letters of William Penn, the great founder of this Commonwealth, the following sentence: "*that a government is free to the people under it, when they are party to the laws, and when the laws govern.*" This is a fine axiom in a republic, expressed with clearness and brevity. But who can say that the laws govern in this republic while Masonry exists? True, that in a thousand cases occurring all around us, the administration of law goes fairly on, and we never hear of Masonry obstructing it, or any thing about Masonry; why, then, it may be asked, any alarm about it. But what does this prove more than that it is harmless, as long as its belligerent spirit is not called out; but excite that spirit, tell the secrets of the institution, *bring it, by any means, into conflict with the laws*, and who that has examined the case of Morgan but must see that it is stronger than the laws. Hence Antimasonry. It avers that the laws cannot be executed, when Masonry wills that they shall not be. It has beheld a systematic conspiracy by Masons against the life of a citizen, and that citizen murdered,

whilst the murderers, though well known to full fifty or more of the brotherhood, were screened by its power, despite the whole power of the judiciary, exerted for six years, to get the better of it. What a victory was this; how novel, how awakening.

The champions of the Lodge cry out PERSECUTION. They say that any other society or corporation would, from the natural *esprit de corps*, protect a member in the same manner; that it is only a common case; that moreover it was a perversion of true masonry to shed blood, and in all other ways prostrate and deride the laws. So they talk, and say besides, that every good thing may be abused, and that the innocent ought not to suffer for the guilty; forgetting that it was the illegal oaths of the institution that dictated the act mentioned; forgetting the abundant proof we have, that whilst intelligent and good masons interpret the oaths innocently, others read, understand and act upon them as their words import. Show us any other society or corporation bound together by similar oaths, with the train of imprecations and penalties annexed, and meditating all their purposes of revenge in secret, and then the premises being the same the conclusion will be the same; but until this is done, it is a calumny upon other societies to confound them with one the very root of whose existence and source of whose power, are laid in these oaths. Thus, whilst we admit that it has an orbit for charitable deeds, which good masons perform, its field for nefarious ones is equally wide, and stands equally justified to the consciences of men who choose to construe the words in which they are made to swear, and swear, and swear again, "*and thrice again to make up nine*," as all words in all languages are usually construed; that is, according to their most obvious meaning.

Other champions ask upon what part of our constitution *Antimasonry* is based, and how you are to carry it

to the polls? as if a stronger principle of political organization can be conceived under a government of laws, than a determination to root out a brotherhood that overthrows them. If Great Britain, under what she calls her rights of allegiance, were now to impress one single American and hold him in captivity, would it not rouse the whole country against her, and become, if she refused us justice, a political rallying point? Would those who defended or excused her conduct, or even refused to take part against her, would any such persons have the least chance of being voted into any political office? And why should it fare better with Masonry? Masons under their allegiance to the Lodge, seize a citizen and murder him. Acting under obligations which they believe to be imposed by their oaths, they refuse to give testimony against each other, or utter a syllable against masons or masonry; whilst the Lodge, instead of bringing its power and just resentments to bear upon the murderers, tries by its influence and funds to get them off, reserving its resentments for that portion of the community who pursue them. If to extirpate such an institution by voting it down, when it is found that nothing else will overcome the force of its oaths, be not a sufficient ground of political organization; then is not impressment, nor even nullification. Nor was the claim of Britain to tyrannize over our fathers, an adequate ground of political organization, for Masonry is a tyrant as long as its oaths raise its impure votaries above the law.

I repeat, then, that my omission to answer your very obliging and gratifying communication with more promptitude, must be ascribed to any other reason than diminished zeal for antimasonry. On the contrary, my zeal in it increases. The more I examine it, the deeper do its foundations appear to be laid in principles of justice, and obligations of public duty. I publicly expressed myself in its favor more than two years ago.

I thought, at that time, that the conspiracy against Morgan, by masons, and his immolation, was the most diabolical crime, all its circumstances considered, that our country had ever witnessed. I saw justice baffled in her pursuit. I saw masonry, by its oaths, effectually triumph over judges and juries, over government and law, over executive proclamations and legislative ordinances, over all the efforts and power of society—the main province of which is, to protect the weak against the strong. When, at that day, I also heard that some of the participators in this matchless deed of terror and death, although not the actual murderers, were permitted, *after solemn conviction by juries of the country*, to resume their seats in the lodge, I could not, did not, believe it. Direct as must be the tendency of the terms in which masonic oaths are couched, as of many of the ceremonies of the institution, to weaken the sense of public decorum, and that of self dignity in the individual man, I did not believe that these feelings could yet be so totally extinct in any Lodge, and I wrote to New York to ascertain the fact. It proved to be literally true. My zeal then must necessarily increase in our cause, when I find that the perpetrators of the crime have, through the persevering devices of bad masons, which the oaths and spirit of the institution put into their hearts, absolutely passed away unpunished. I now regard as a perpetual outrage in the whole corporate body, every new day of its existence, and much more every year, since the blood of a citizen, *butchered through its oaths*, is unatoned for. The seal is put to the irreparable mischief it has done. It now stands irretrievably condemned. Self-dissolution it owes to the whole American people for having cut off one of their number, and contrition to itself. Instead of the one or the other, it remains audacious and hardened, contending against the great community it has so wronged. It continues its meetings; continues its barba-

rous emblems, nomenclature and publications; even its nocturnal deliberations, under guard of the drawn sword of its tyler, as if to give society a new threat; continues its parades in open day. In all this there is that kind of destitution of shame, with which the Roman statesman and orator, roused by the fires of incensed eloquence, branded Cataline on his appearing in public, when all Rome knew of his guilt. Let me add to this record of cool, exulting obduracy, something to crown it all; the CONVICTS continue, up to this hour, to enjoy the fellowship and bask in the confidence of the Lodge!

In this new hemisphere, there are at work moral and political elements that are to exert an influence on mankind, and which, therefore, demand the whole attention of those who reflect. The very contest against masonry is one of these. It may become those who view this contest as I do, namely, as of exceeding magnitude, to remark, that in our great, growing, and, in so many respects virtuous, country, we are falling into an alarming stupor under the commission of murders. The causes, it behoves us anxiously to probe. None should be overlooked, near or remote. Here I must aid in bringing to public light, an important but painful fact. I wish that it had no foundation, but truth ought not to be kept out of sight, and the first step towards removing national as individual causes of reproach, is to be conscious of and acknowledge them. The Rev. Dr. Cathcart, of York, a learned and enlightened clergyman, kept an account of all the murders in the United States in 1831, and found that they amounted, as far as he could ascertain, to *one hundred and nine.* The fear is that this list fell below, rather than exceeded the truth, as he put down none of which he had not an account. Others may have been committed that escaped him; but his aggregate, which I must add did not include those of the Southampton insurrection, or the individuals killed in the public affray in

Rhode Island, probably exceeds the whole number of murders in both France and England for that year. The number in the latter country for *seven* years, ending with 1830, appears by their parliamentary returns, to have been *one hundred and three*, or about *fifteen* for each year. What American, solicitous for the reputation of his country, but must feel deeply at a difference so amazing; however, the sum total of all other offences may place those in our land at a lower point in the comparison. I do not charge Masonry with swelling up this appalling amount of murders, because it murdered Morgan; but I say unequivocally, and I say it careless of fresh abuse, that if any one thing could tend more than another to lessen the salutary horror with which that highest of crimes ought ever to be regarded in every community, it was the behavior of our *presses* under the murder of Morgan. How seldom did they touch upon it, how gently! How it escaped even *any* notice from some, for entire months! How fruitful a topic was it of irony and jeers to others! Who, with pretensions to candor and a particle of recollection, can gainsay this; and who but sees in it all, the influence of masonry?

What else can explain such a moral phenomenon? What else can explain the sudden closing up of the tongue, and honest indignation of the heart, under that most remarkable occurrence? The institution has, therefore, this foul sin at its door. It prostrated the moral sense, as well as the laws; it stifled indignation against murder, strove to eradicate conscience, as well as outrage justice. It worked with the arms of a strong man, and cunningly as boldly, to debauch the public mind; to blunt public sensibility to all the circumstances of the enormity. Here was a new element foisted into the national feeling by masonry, and as portentous as new. The purpose was fruitful of future crime, and if such has been the result, it has done no more than follow the

purpose. Masonic presses made light of the deep and terrible atrocity of the act. With these it was a mere every day affair; some of them palliated, almost justified it, significantly hinting that the fellow had got his deserts —his base neck wrung off—for telling secrets, that was all. Other presses, under impending terrors to their subscription list, would not, dared not, speak out with the energy, and go on with the perseverance, that so frightful a public crime demanded. They were passive, timid, in effect muzzled. They could see nothing uncommon in a vast plot by a ferocious band, linked together by the most extraordinary oaths ever taken by man, oaths sanctioned by an extensive and potent brotherhood — nothing in dragging a man from his family and home—transporting him a hundred miles through a populous State, under an impudent cavalcade—then confining him in a dungeon—then murdering him. They saw nothing uncommon in all this; no, there was no occasion to make a noise about it—it was a mysterious affair, beyond the usual province of newspapers—to be cautiously mentioned, perhaps, in a paragraph or so; but nothing more!

I here repeat the accusation, I re-asseverate the truth, the press failed in its duty from fear; or, through the opiates of masonry, it fell into a senseless lethargy. For, let it be remembered, that this recreant shrinking, or disreputable torpor, *was prior to the existence of the anti-masonic party, or the least intention of forming one.* It cannot, therefore, be ascribed to hatred of that party and its objects. There were exceptions, I know, to this shameful dereliction; but they were as few as honorable. The general press, following the impulse given by the lodge, opened chiefly upon those who formed the array against the banditti; but where was its true patriotism, where its rightful chivalry, that ought to have arraigned the guilty monster? that ought to have confronted

masonry; told it to its face, that its own oaths caused the murder? There was nothing of this, or next to nothing; and antimasonic presses were first set up *exclusively* for the purpose of giving circulation among the people to the astounding facts of that whole transaction, from the publication of which other presses of the country silently hung back, or, when called upon, openly refused. The former were thence called INDEPENDENT PRESSES; a proud appellation, which they strictly merited. Let the other presses turn to their conduct in Avery's case, and blush. How quick, how universal their outcry then! Swift's commonwealth of dogs, (I claim your pardon, gentlemen, for the illustration, but I can think of no better,) never congregated and went off with more eagerness, all in a pack. All manner of accounts of that offence were given, and in all manner of ways—private letters, rumors, and I know not what; special reporters were sent from the large towns—the gentlemen of the press, you know, are always accommodated—and to Rhode Island they posted as if "*racing and chasing o'er Canoby Lea;*" every jot and tittle of the trial was put into type, with the speed of lightning, when masonry held not up the finger of caution, or rod of rebuke; for will it be credited, that all this sensibility under the shedding of blood, this daily serving up of "further particulars"—this simultaneous zeal and uproar among the "*public sentinels*"—came from presses, in not one out of ten of whose columns, I venture to affirm, will any thing be found of the Morgan trials at Lockport, unless indeed a meagre paragraph, or sneering jest! The contrast of such conduct can hardly be dwelt upon with composure of face, even in the midst of its tragic ingredients. Could a Moliere appear among us, masonry and its knights-errant, whether true liege men, or those auxiliaries who declare they are no masons, but will not persecute the lodge, would be embalmed for the amusement of

every body; even masons themselves, who relish a dramatic scene.

I fear that I run a risk of fatiguing you by writing only of things with which you are familiar. The proceedings of the Convention that you represent, abundantly attest how well you understand the principles, facts and objects of our cause. But your letter has furnished me with the occasion of reviewing some of them, now that they have passed, in some sort, into history; for which I presume to hope I shall have your excuse. The brief summary I have called up, comprises, in my mind, the ground of justification for making antimasonry political. That against which it wars, has shown its mastery over the law, and its tyranny over the press. The former involves the highest considerations of government and public administration. It goes to the very foundation, existence and safety of civil society, and therefore affects all politics. Hooker, personifying law, eloquently exclaims, "her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; every thing on earth does her homage, the highest as not beyond her control, the least as claiming her protection." Masonry has overset this primordial system. She has dethroned this image of God upon earth. To reinstate it over so insolent a victor, we must have a political organization. There is no other way of assaulting, there is no other hope of vanquishing, there need be no other dream of humbling such a foe. It fights with desperation. It murdered Morgan by force of its oaths; it beat down the law by force of its oaths; and, like any other murderer on trial for life, it will resort to every means that these same oaths can engender, to escape the doom it deserves. It is itself an organization the most tremendous, and for political as well as other purposes, when it may see fit to aim at them, though this, as many things besides, be kept out of its written code. It is, therefore, incontestibly proper, to attack it *politically*. It vehemently protests

against this course; says that it is disfranchised, degraded; but it refuses to repeal its own illegal oaths that murdered a citizen and degraded the laws! It is callous to this kind of degradation, affecting the whole community, but alive to any that may touch itself. It is selfish and intolerant; charitable at one time; boastful, presumptuous, destructive, at others. Proscriptive it must be, on some occasions, through the unavoidable tendency of its obligations. Laud it, or be silent, and it is meek; raise but a whisper against it, and it grows fierce, though raising its own hand against human life, and trampling the laws under its feet.

If to rescue the law from the usurpation of such a brotherhood, be a primary ground of political organization, to disengage the press from its shackles stands next; the press, so interwoven with all political operations, but which dares not give the rightful, honest utterance to its real opinions and feelings when it remembers the lash of the lodge, in the dangers to its subscription list.

These, then, are the grounds on which I would have antimasonry political; and, I frankly own, that they are the *only* ones. Other and broad objections are made to the institution, which I leave to the discussion of other pens; the two on which I stand—the law and the press—being ample. Its religion or irreligion, on which I pass no judgment, has, in my humble opinion, nothing to do, under our system, with politics; and as to its mummeries, if these surpassed, as in sober certainty they equal, any of which the Landers give us an account in Africa, Masons have a full right, whilst they do not injure others, to practice them. Few men of a high order of intellect or taste in any country, have much to do with the institution practically, however the shield of such names, given in most instances when young, may be held up as props in a season of alarm from popular scrutiny. This is the case in the United States. Men of this stamp among us,

who have been at the pains of examining and understanding the existing state of the institution, and the crimes of which its oaths have been the parent, come almost invariably to the conclusion that it ought to go down. But it is notorious, that neither the counsels nor the spirit of such men govern in the lodge.

I cannot conclude my letter without offering a felicitation on the progress of our cause. Among the judicious and excellent documents which your Convention sent forth, none afforded me more satisfaction than the report of the committee appointed to devise the best means of diffusing information on the subject of secret societies. This is the true way to promote antimasonry, and render it political. Unless it be political, it is absolutely nothing. Let the people understand the real character of the lodge, with its late deeds, and they will be sure to vote it down. This they are coming to do more and more, notwithstanding the fears that still hold in chains, or the infatuation that still steep in drowsiness, nearly all the same presses that deserted their posts when Morgan was butchered. In our own State, I see, with pleasure, that the independent presses are increasing in power and circulation. I see an evident increase of their numbers in other places.

In New York, looking to the interior, all is firm; nor will that great Commonwealth, whose intelligence and spirit first dared the institution to political battle, justly provoked by the stupendous outrage within her jurisdiction, discontinue the noble fight. As she led the way, let her's be the glory of the first great triumph, unless we in Pennsylvania should be foremost in that glory. In Massachusetts we gain strength decidedly. Within her ancient borders, there are giants in intellect and Fenelons in virtue, now ranged upon our side, who have illustrated our principles, and shown the public dangers from Masonic oaths and penalties, with a depth of political philosophy and a power of general argument, rarely equalled,

and never surpassed. Never before have the essential vices of the institution been so laid bare by genius, knowledge and eloquence; sustained by an elevated fearlessness. Masonry does not notice these discussions, because unable to cope with them. The lodge is mighty to hush up murder, and wrench from the tribunals the sceptre of the laws; but here its might ends. It has not the might of reason or mind. It *skulks* from the club of the intellectual Hercules of the north, who had dared it to the field, who has shivered its sophisms, and exposed to alternate reprobation and derision its fooleries, and the unmitigated horror of its recent deeds. His pieces are unanswered, because unanswerable. They are even unpublished almost totally, especially in the large cities, through the inveterate sleepiness or still unmanly fears of the same "*public sentinels*," that give instant circulation to the other masterly productions from the same source; a new and emphatic confirmation of the manner in which they are hoodwinked by the cunning, or kept down by the despotism of the lodge. In Vermont and Rhode Island, the flag of antimasonry may almost be said to wave in ascendancy; and if these are small communities, so did the little Hanse towns, and Holland, and the small states of Italy, set the first examples of public liberty in another hemisphere. Those who have enlisted under this flag, are, I rejoice to say it, seen to be persevering, resolute, inflexible; the noble earnests of success.

The indications to which I have adverted, with others in other parts of the Union, give assurance that our cause towers upward from its adamantine base. Go on, then, gentlemen; be ardent, be untiring. Do not abuse Masons personally, as they do you, in the absence of arguments; but do not spare the bloody institution. Do not fear to impute the highest of all crimes, and the most formidable of dangers to the body politic and social, to the *necessary* operation upon weak or wicked minds of its vile, illegal,

and terrific oaths. Our cause must triumph. Its foundations are of inconceivable breadth, dignity and duration. It claims precedence over all others; therefore let us not mix it up with others. Let us scorn to be tributary to any other political organization or party in the nation. Ours is no secondary place. We shall betray the great trust we have in hand, if ever, for an instant, we consider it so. Representing the sovereign power of the laws, in which the people's majesty in every stage of civilized existence is mainly seen where freedom is known, let us take that lead to which such a cause is foredoomed. Already do we see other parties splitting into fragments, because at fault about their principles, or wrangling about their leaders. Not so ours; not so the party of the laws. Not so the party that writes on its banner the principle that holds all society together, and which, although it demands other requisites in those which it trusts politically, will trust none who do not avow political antimasonry. Even now this great party is more predominant in this State, than any of the fragments or divisions of other parties; and by the mere power of truth, unaided by patronage, incapable of intrigue, it is making its way to superiority over all. The streams that join it, must flow in as to a conquering river, and form part of it.

Returning you my grateful thanks for the terms in which you communicated to me the resolution of the Convention, I beg you to believe me, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant and fellow citizen,

RICHARD RUSH.

LETTER OF HON. RICHARD RUSH

To James Moorehead, Secretary of the Senatorial Convention at Meadville, Pennsylvania, August 28, 1833.

Sydenham, (near Philadelphia,) Sept. 11, 1833.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 30th of August, transmitting me a copy of the resolution of the convention at Meadville, assembled for that senatorial district on the 28th of the same month, in which favorable mention is made of my name in connection with the cause of Antimasonry, reached me a few days ago; and I beg to return my respectful thanks to that body for its good opinion; nor am I less sensible to the very cordial manner in which you have had the goodness to impart it to me.

It is with the greatest pleasure I perceive, in common with our Antimasonic friends every where, that not merely the reasonableness, but absolute necessity of political Antimasonry is becoming more and more apparent to all who dispassionately examine the grounds of it. The cunning of masonry seemed for a while to have partially succeeded in raising against political Antimasonry the cry of illiberality—even of fanaticism. It saw that the institution, with the whole foundation of illegal oaths on which it is built, could never be overset except at the polls; and therefore it went industriously to work to denounce the only formidable assailant it ever yet met with, and towards making converts in this work of denunciation. But it has failed of its purpose. The battle indeed continues to rage; with the fullest assurance however of final victory on the side of that portion of the people who have determined not to bow their necks to the yoke of this institution. Masonry, as its champions all knew, was precisely what one of its chosen delineators described it to be a year or two before the murder of Morgan, viz., an institution comprising "men of rank, wealth, office, and talents, in power and out of

power, in almost every place where power is of importance, and among other classes, large numbers of effective men united together and capable of being directed by the efforts of others, and with means of knowing one another, and co-operating in the dark, in the legislative hall, on the bench, in every gathering of men of business, in every party of pleasure, in every enterprise of government, in peace and war, and in one place as well as another."

This is only part of his impressive description, and true enough it all was. How preposterous, that such a body should complain of a political combination against it, seeing that by the very principle of its existence, it can combine, and does combine, against the community at large, whenever it thinks fit to accomplish a political, or any other end! The people first effectively discovered its cloven foot in Morgan's case. Being armed with full proof from all the circumstances of that memorable combination, of the power of the Lodge to trample upon the laws by force of its illegal oaths, they have resolved to put down such a power by their legal rights of suffrage. Tyranny has always had a *cant* of its own. In particular it is prone to trumpet its own good deeds and complain of encroachment upon its rights. An ancient historian has remarked that if one only looked at the preamble to the proscriptions during the dictatorships and triumvirate in Rome, he would almost imagine that nothing could be more just than those proscriptions. The preambles were sure to contain most specious reasons, most moral arguments. So it has been with masonry, if we look to the pleas it has set up for itself since it has been put upon its trial at the polls; that is, when it has entered the field of engagement at all, which has not been often, as it generally satisfies itself with abuse. Yet the power of its oath to commit murder and baffle justice, to tyrannize over the law, and hold in degrading vassalage the press throughout our country, equals any tyranny known to the days of

Rome, and transcends any ever practised over our fathers by George the Third.

Happily, hundreds of thousands of the freemen of this republic have already taken up arms against this tyrant of our day, and the indications seem clear, that as further investigation continues to shed light upon the great principle of the contest, the rally in behalf of freedom will grow strong enough to prostrate the tyrant in the dust. Then, not sooner, will some little atonement be made to the great body corporate of the American people for the loss of one of its members, butchered through masonry. Then, not sooner, will our nation achieve a second independence; inasmuch as a tyrant that rides over the judicial tribunals and commits, stalking in the dark, aggressions the most insulting and frightful upon society, is even worse than one who openly sits with a crown upon his head; for the latter being seen, may be the more easily stripped of the instruments of his tyranny. Masonry has been charitable, and may be now; but prince Potocky used to say, that the *magnanimity* of Catharine and the *moderation* of the king of Prussia, made him detest both magnanimity and moderation. So masonry would bring charity itself into disrepute, if any thing could, since the injunctions to it come from the same polluted source that engenders deeds the most abominable in the minds of weak or ill-disposed men; who interpret in a manner to justify such deeds, the barbarous, the lawless and the shameful oaths in which their masonic obligations are couched.

I beg to reciprocate assurances of the friendly respect with which I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

RICHARD RUSH.

BENEDICT ARNOLD A FREEMASON, AND HIS ESCAPE CAUSED BY FREEMASONRY.

It was asserted in the Boston Evening Transcript of May 14th, 1846, on the authority of Past Grand Master, R. G. Scott, of Virginia, that fifty at least of those who signed the Declaration of Independence were Freemasons, and that every Major General of the revolutionary army was a member of that fraternity save one, and that one was Benedict Arnold. And it is asserted by another masonic authority, that fifty-two of the fifty-six signers were Masons.

Although Freemasonry was fashionable in 1776, the disproportion in the latter declaration seems very improbable; and at this late period, (1849,) for the lack of evidence, it cannot well be controverted. It is obvious that Freemasonry wishes to get rid of Arnold, and to have it believed, that if he had been a Freemason, he would not have been a traitor. And it has expressly declared that "in the treason of Arnold, never mingled Freemasonry." Of the Major Generals of the revolutionary army, in our limited sphere, we find that Gen. Lincoln of Hingham was a Freemason; no evidence can be obtained that Gen. Heath of Roxbury was one; that Gen. Ward of Shrewsbury had *never* been one of the order, see H. D. Ward's Antimasonic Review, Vol. 1, No. 10, p. 295. This last case sufficiently disproves the declaration about Major Generals. And it is well to recollect here, that Aaron Burr was a Major General, and since the revolution became a traitor to his country, and in his treasonable correspondence, *made use of the Royal Arch Cypher*, proving that Freemasonry does not purify.

Now we say that ARNOLD WAS A FREEMASON, and that his treason did "mingle with Freemasonry." Here is the evidence, taken from the Hartford [Conn.] Times of

December 18, 1841, which copied it from the New Haven Herald, which says, "An old book has accidentally fallen into our possession, which proves to be the *Records of a Masonic Lodge*, held in this city, the first entry in which is the following:

"At a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held at the Fountain Inn in New Haven, 18th April, 1765,

Present—R. W. NATHAN WHITING, Master.
GEORGE MILES, S. W.
ANDREW BURR, J. W.
Br. JOHN HOTCHKISS, Treas.
Br. TIMOTHY JONES, Sec'y.
Br. ROBERT BROWN.
Br. BUCKMINSTER BRINTNALL.
Br. BENEDICT ARNOLD, V. B.
Br. CHRISTOPHER KILLEY.

Br. BENEDICT ARNOLD is, by R. W. proposed to be made a member of the R. W. Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons—accordingly was ballotted for and accepted, and is accordingly a member.

Expenses for the evening, £1 0 0."

The fact being established that Arnold was a Freemason, it leads us to reflect and examine how much our National Independence was endangered by Freemasonry. Instead of its disowning and ridding itself of any connection with Arnold, it seems to be impossible not to believe that it was the cause and instrument of his escape.

Marshall, in his Life of Washington, says: "André, the prisoner, requested Jameson to inform his commanding officer Arnold, that Anderson was taken." Sparks, in his Life of Washington, says: "Jameson examined the papers, and *knew them to be in the hand-writing of Arnold*, and that he was amazed and bewildered."

His conduct was so strange, there seems to be no other way to account for it, but to some unseen influence, and that, we think, since the disclosures of Freemasonry by

William Morgan, has become visible. The source and cause of this apparent bewilderment were his masonic oath, "*to apprize a brother of all approaching danger.*" Masonry and his country were the conflicting agencies, and he chose to be governed by the former. Although seemingly perplexed by this sudden position, Jameson's mind was not unhinged. "There was method in his madness." We see a directness of purpose, at all events to save Arnold, and perhaps André. Sparks, in his "Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold," says, Jameson committed to the charge of Lieutenant Allen and a guard, the prisoner, John Anderson, to be delivered to Arnold, and a letter describing the several kind of papers found under his stockings; adding also, that the *papers were of a dangerous tendency, and that he had sent them to Gen. Washington.* What could be plainer than this addition, to warn Arnold of his danger?

Major Tallmadge, next officer in command under Jameson, had been absent during the day, and on his return was informed by Jameson of what had taken place. He was astonished, and expressed his suspicions of Arnold, "offering to take on himself the entire responsibility of proceeding upon that ground." Jameson would consent to nothing implying distrust of Arnold. He yielded, however, after much expostulation from Major Tallmadge to have the prisoner brought back, but *persisted in sending the letter to Arnold.*

At the commencement of the treason, it was the express wish of Arnold that André should be Sir Henry Clinton's agent with whom to make the arrangements. Thence it may be inferred that they were known to each other as members of the fraternity, and also that Jameson intended André's liberation. Probably from the lively suspicions and remonstrances of Major Tallmadge, he feared a too great exposure to public censure in permitting both the traitor and the prisoner to escape, therefore per-

mitted the recall of the latter. But whether André was a Freemason or not, it affects not the argument for the agency of Freemasonry.

After this we see and hear nothing further of Jameson. He not having been tried by a Court Martial, will it be presumptuous to suppose his excuse to Washington, was his masonic obligation to Arnold? For the last thirty years of his life, Washington became indifferent to Freemasonry, and may not this implication of it, be one moving cause of the injunction in his farewell address, to avoid certain "*combinations and associations.*"

We have no positive evidence that Jameson was a Freemason, and have sought for none. His conduct, in this case, is sufficient. It conformed precisely to masonic obligations.

ONE OF THE SUFFOLK COMMITTEE OF 1829.

HON. EDWARD EVERETT'S OPINION OF SECRET SOCIETIES.

"The Supremacy of the Laws," is the fundamental principle of civil society. "The allegiance due to his country is the highest human obligation" of all men who enter into civil society; and I conceive the Institution of Freemasonry, in its tendency, to be at war with both these principles. With respect to this Institution, I came to the conclusion, and expressed it repeatedly in public, several years before the present controversy arose, that its pretensions to antiquity are unfounded. It is probably the growth of the last century and a half. It has frequently been admitted to me, by respectable members of the Society, that it is useless; and that as such it had better be abolished. Its only avowed objects—charity and knowledge—can be much better promoted by public associations. If it be useless, it must be worse than use-

less, because it occasions a waste of all the time, attention, and money—necessary to keep up its organization. The titular and ceremonial parts of it, as displayed before the public, appear to me strangely at variance with good taste, particularly in a republican country.

But the great objections to the Institution lie much deeper. All secret societies are dangerous, in proportion to the extent of their organization, and the number of their members. A secret society, so widely diffused and connected as this, puts a vast power, capable of the most dangerous abuse, into hands irresponsible to the public. The secret ceremonies and rites, as they have been disclosed, appear to me, on many grounds, highly objectionable; and the oaths and obligations are open to the most weighty exceptions, on the score of religion, morals, and good sense. I am aware that some of these oaths must have been taken by many great and good men. That does not alter their character. And as I cannot believe, that they could have stood a day, before the face of public sentiment, had they been openly administered and received, it is not the least objection to the Institution, that as a secret society, whose rites and ceremonies must be substantially unknown beforehand, great and good men have been surprised into giving it a seeming sanction.

The force of these objections is immeasurably increased by the fact, that within a few years, the Institution has been actually made the instrument of the greatest (the greatest because irreparable) evil, which can be inflicted on society, the destruction of the life of a citizen; followed up by systematic and successful attempts to screen the murderers, in defiance of the most rigorous efforts, on the part of the tribunals, to bring them to justice.

July 15, 1833.

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THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

UNITED STATES ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION,

Held at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830.

EMBRACING THE

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS,

THE REPORTS, THE DEBATES,

AND THE

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

PUBLISHED BY

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1830.

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NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

It is perceived, with regret, that some few typographical errors have escaped detection, and will appear in the first impressions. These have been corrected when discovered; and if others yet should be found, the notice of them will be received as a favour, and they will be amended.

If any errors of a graver character, in the reports or debates, should appear, the Committee take occasion to say, that they have not happened through any want of diligence in seeking for the true reading of the manuscript reports, or the true meaning of a speaker, from the notes of the stenographer. It is, however, felt, that errors in the sense may possibly have happened, in printing reports drawn up in many different, and often obscure hand-writings; and in debates of speakers, whose meaning may in possible cases have been misapprehended. Some of the speakers who are nearest and most accessible, and whose employments permitted, have been so kind as to revise the notes taken of their remarks. But in this respect, gentlemen who live remote from the place of publication, have suffered a wrong, unavoidable certainly, but which the Committee cannot reflect upon without regret, and which it is the principal object of this note to acknowledge. For, it has happened in several instances, that some doubt or obscurity has been discovered in the notes of a gentleman's remarks; but discovered so late, that recourse to him could not be had for explanation, without delaying the publication. Mean time, the public call for the proceedings has been loud and urgent; the Committee thought it safer to omit some speeches than to run the risk of any, even small, errors in the sense; and in this manner, injustice has been done to gentlemen residing at a distance, by omitting valuable remarks; and injustice to the public also, by presenting the debates less full and perfect than was expected. Sometimes a part only of a speaker's remarks has been inserted, thereby intending to exclude a paragraph, which it was feared did not correctly express his idea.

Among the gentlemen whose remarks, or some of them, are thus omitted, it may not be improper to name, Mr. Dexter, of Michigan; Mr. Miles, of Erie, in Pennsylvania, and Mr. Jones of the same state; Mr. Hanna, of Ohio; Mr. Armstrong, of New York; Mr. Strong, of Connecticut; Mr. Morse, and Mr. M'Culloch, of New Jersey; and if there are still others whose names were not known, it is hoped they will be indulgent for the omission, considering the difficulty which the reporter experienced in learning names, in an assemblage of men so intensely occupied, and so soon dissolved. The Committee think it just to make an unsolicited acknowledgment of the ability, intelligence, and attention of Mr. Marcus T. C. Gould, stenographer to the Convention.

It remains only to say, that arrangements are made with the publishers to print in future impressions, such additional speeches or remarks as may be furnished, and to correct errata that may be pointed out; and that for these purposes, communications may be sent to Samuel M. Hopkins, Albany; William H. Maynard, Utica, or Harman Denny, Pittsburgh.

20th October, 1830.

STATE ANTI-MASONIC COMMITTEES.

In pursuance of a resolution of the Convention, the following list is published, though imperfect. It is requested that perfect lists of all the State Committees may be furnished as soon as possible, in order that the following may be corrected accordingly.

VERMONT.

Martin Flint,
Lebbeus Edgerton, } *Randolph, Orange County.*
Calvin Blodget,

MASSACHUSETTS.

Abner Phelps,
John D. Williams,
George Odiorne,
Henry Gassett,
William Marston,
Thomas Walley,
Benjamin W. Lamb,
Ebenezer Withington,
John P. Whitwell,
Benjamin V. French,
Daniel Weld,
Jonathan French,
Jacob Hall.

RHODE ISLAND.

Walter Paine, Jun.
Christopher Spencer,
John Prentice,
John Hall,
John Foster,
Josiah Wardwell,
Wyllis Ames,
Daniel Matthewson,
Lemuel Steere,
Lodowick L. Thurston.

CONNECTICUT.

Jonathan W. Edwards,
Gaius Lyman, } *Hartford.*
N. D. Strong,
Calvin Barber, *Simsbury,*
Stephen F. Palmer, *Ashford,*
Sidney Wadsworth, *Farmington,*
Henry Perkins, *Salem.*

OHIO.

Jonathan Sloane,
Frederick Wadsworth, } *Ravenna, Portage Co.*
Cyrus Prentiss,
George B. Depeyster,
Gregory Powers, Jun.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Geo. W. Harris,
Francis Wyeth,
Valentine Hummel,
Lee Montgomery,
John Fox.
Aaron Bombaugh,
John A. Wier,
Archibald Orme, (*Dauphin,*)
Philip Fishburn.

NEW YORK.

Harvy Ely,
Frederick Whittlesey,
Samuel Works, } *Rochester.*
F. F. Bachus,
Thurlow Weed, *Albany,*
Bates Cooke, *Lewiston,*
Timothy Fitch, *Batavia.*

NEW JERSEY.

Joseph Cutler, } *Bottle Hill.*
Abraham Brittin,
Jacob Mann, *Morristown.*

ALABAMA.

Bolling Hall,
Samuel S. Graham, } *Coosada.*
Absalom Jackson,
Lewis Johnson,
Joseph Babcock, } *Cahawba,*
W. R. Norrison,
William Hewes,
A. P. M'Curdy,
Thomas G. Gill,
E. Pickens, } *Cahawba.*

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Philadelphia, Saturday, September 11, 1830.

Ninety-six Delegates* to the United States Anti-masonic Convention, assembled in the District Court Room, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 11th of September, 1830, at 12 o'clock, M.—On motion of Frederick Whittlesey, of the state of New York, it was resolved, that the Convention be organized by appointing a President, four Vice-Presidents, and two Secretaries; whereupon the following gentlemen were unanimously appointed, viz:

FRANCIS GRANGER, of the state of New York, - - - *President.*
JOSEPH RITNER, of the state of Pennsylvania, - 1*st V. President.*
ABNER PHELPS, of the state of Massachusetts, - 2*d V. President.*
ROBERT HANNA, of the state of Ohio, - - - - 3*d V. President.*
SAMUEL W. DEXTER, of the territory of Michigan, 4*th V. President.*
JOHN CLARKE, of the state of Pennsylvania, - - - } *Secretaries.*
NOBLE D. STRONG, of the state of Connecticut, - - }

The Convention being organized, prayer was offered by the Rev. Moses Thacher, of Massachusetts.

On motion of Mr. Whittlesey,—Resolved, that a Committee of one from each state and territory here represented, be appointed to lay before this Convention the subjects proper for its consideration.

Messrs. Phelps, of Massachusetts,
Terry, of Connecticut,
Whittlesey, of New-York,
Todd, of Pennsylvania,
Clark, of Vermont,
Paine, of Rhode Island,
Messrs. Wadsworth, of Ohio,
Vanderpool, of New Jersey,
Dexter, of Michigan,
Slifer of Maryland,
Kirk, of Delaware,

were appointed said Committee.

The Convention then adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

The same day, at 4 o'clock, P. M. the Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Samuel P. Lyman, a delegate from the state of New York, and Nathaniel B. Boileau, and Alexander Plummer, delegates from the state of Pennsylvania, appeared and took their seats.

Mr. Phelps, from the Committee, to lay before this Convention, the subjects proper for its consideration, reported in part, by the following resolutions, viz:

1st. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to prepare and report rules and orders, for the more convenient regulation of the proceedings of this Convention.

2d. *Resolved*, that a Committee of one from each state and territory here represented, be appointed to report whether it is expedient to elect honorary members of this Convention; how many, and who are proper persons to be so elected; and under what restrictions, if any, they are to take seats in this Convention.

3d. *Resolved*, that a Committee be appointed, consisting of all the seceding

* Note by the publishing Committee:—The names of members this day attending, are not here inserted, as the names of all who attended the Convention, will appear subscribed to the address at the end of this volume.

masons belonging to this Convention, to report a summary of freemasonry; embracing the prominent points in each degree, sufficient to show the nature, principles, and tendency of the institution; and that the correctness of the same be certified by each member of the Committee, according to the number of degrees he has taken.

4th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to inquire and report, *when*, *where*, and for *what purposes*, freemasonry was first instituted; what has been its progress; where it has flourished most; and what is now the most probable number of the fraternity, in each country where it exists.

5th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to inquire and report what have been the pretensions of freemasonry, and how supported by facts.

6th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to take into consideration the true nature of masonic oaths or obligations; and to report whether they are, or are not, religiously, morally, or legally binding; and whether they are, or are not, in collision with the higher obligations of duty and allegiance, which every good citizen is under, to support the constitution and laws of his country.

7th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to examine the evidence, as to the truth of the disclosures contained in a work published by Elder David Bernard, entitled, "Light on Masonry;" and to report thereon.

8th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to report a succint and lucid account of the abduction and murder of William Morgan; and of the conduct, and measures adopted by the fraternity, jointly and individually, to prevent a conviction in courts of justice, of their more prominent fellow-masons, in that abduction and murder.

9th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to consider and report, whether an *adherence* to the oaths or obligations of freemasonry, does or does not, disqualify a man for the impartial discharge of all important offices in the gift of the people, according to the true nature of our free institutions.

10th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to report upon the effects of freemasonry on the Christian religion.

11th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of six be appointed, to consider the nature and spirit of anti-masonry, from the disclosures of Professor Robison, and the Abbe Barruel, to the present time; the arguments used by freemasons, in support of their institution; and the means resorted to by the fraternity, to prevent inquiry into the principles, nature, and tendency of the order, and to report thereon.

12th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to report what measures can constitutionally and properly be used, to effectuate the extinction of freemasonry; to guard against its revival; and to secure our free institutions against the future insidious assaults of all secret societies; and to report an address on those subjects to the people of the United States.

13th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to prepare and report resolutions, expressive of the sentiments of this Convention, on the subject of freemasonry; and that each member of this body be requested to aid said Committee, by furnishing such resolutions as he may think proper.

14th. *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to consider and report the best system of a national correspondence of anti-masons, for the *sole* purpose of diffusing information extensively on the subject of freemasonry, and of other secret combinations, against the equal rights of mankind and our free institutions.

Thereupon ordered, that the said report be accepted, and that Committees be appointed accordingly.

On motion of Mr. Ruggles, *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to report a mode for raising funds amongst the members of this Convention, to defray its contingent expenses. Thereupon,

Messrs. Ruggles, of Massachusetts,
Manchester, of New York,
Boyd, of Ohio,
Messrs. Whitney, of New-York,
Walker, of Pennsylvania,

were appointed said Committee.

The Convention adjourned to Monday next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. then to meet in the saloon of the Musical Fund Hall, in this city.

Monday, September 13th, 1830, the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Prayer, by the Rev. Caleb Green, of New York.

William H. Maynard, and George H. Boughton, delegates from the state of New York; Martin Flint, a delegate from the state of Vermont; Samuel Leidy, a delegate from the state of Pennsylvania; and Nahum Hardy, a delegate from the state of Massachusetts, appeared and took their seats.

The Committees, upon the several resolutions passed on Saturday, were announced by the President, as follows:

On the 1st resolution,
Messrs. Denny, of Pennsylvania,
Rose, of New York,
Lazell, of Massachusetts,
Messrs. Storrs, of Connecticut,
Kelley, of Ohio.

On the 2d resolution,
Messrs. Clarke, of Vermont,
Holley, of Connecticut,
Bancroft, of New York,
Alling, of New Jersey,
Middleswarth, of Penn.
Kirk, of Delaware,
Messrs. Dexter, of Michigan,
Wadsworth, of Ohio,
Slifer, of Maryland,
Paine, of Rhode Island,
Bigelow, of Massachusetts.

On the 3d resolution, the Committee being ordered to consist of seceding masons, the following gentlemen constituted the same, namely,
Messrs. Thacher, of Massachusetts,
Merrick, of Do.
Strong, of Connecticut,
Barber, of Do.
Flint, of Vermont,
Ward, of New York,
Messrs. Read, of New York,
Bernard, of Do.
Armstrong, of Do.
Morse, of New Jersey,
Slifer, of Maryland.

On the 4th resolution,
Messrs. Ward, of New York,
Stevens, of Pennsylvania,
Loveland, of Vermont,
Messrs. M'Culloch, of New Jersey,
Longley, of Massachusetts.

On the 5th resolution,
Messrs. Oliver, of Massachusetts,
Terry, of Connecticut,
St. John, of New York,
Messrs. Gillett, of Ohio,
Brittin, of New Jersey.

On the 6th resolution,
Messrs. Hopkins, of New York,
Sheldon, of Do.
Ogle, of Pennsylvania,
Messrs. Potts, of Pennsylvania,
Thacher, of Massachusetts.

On the 7th resolution,
Messrs. Morris, of New York,
Flint, of Vermont,
Rhoads, of Pennsylvania,
Messrs. Morton, Massachusetts,
Perkins, of Connecticut.

On the 8th resolution,
Messrs. Whittlesey, of New York,
Irwin, of Pennsylvania,
Cooke, of New York,
Messrs. Conger, of New Jersey,
Sabin, of Vermont.

On the 9th resolution,
Messrs. Boileau, of Pennsylvania, Taylor, of New York, Walker, of Massachusetts, Messrs. Greenough, of Pennsylvania, Barber, of Connecticut.

On the 10th resolution,
Messrs. Maynard, of New York, Thacher, of Massachusetts, Loveland, of Vermont, Messrs. Kirk, of Delaware, T. C. Green, of New York.

On the 11th resolution,
Messrs. Jones, of Pennsylvania, Sweet, of New York, C. Green, of Do. Messrs. Boyd, of Ohio, Goffe, of Massachusetts, Thacher, of Do.

On the 12th resolution,
Messrs. Holley, of New York, Slade, of Vermont, Line, of Pennsylvania, Messrs. Gassett, of Massachnsetts, Curtenius, of New York.

On the 13th resolution,
Messrs. Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, Seward, of New York, Vanderpool, of New Jersey, Messrs. Lawyer, of New York, Peters, of Massachusetts.

On the 14th resolution,
Messrs. Todd, of Pennsylvania, Burbank, of Massachusetts, Stanton, of New York, Messrs. Nichols, of Connecticut, Adams, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Denny, from the Committee on rules and orders, reported the following, to be standing rules of the Convention, namely,

I. The President shall take the chair at the hour to which the Convention shall stand adjourned; and upon the appearance of a quorum, shall direct the minutes of the preceding day to be read.

II. The President shall preserve order and decorum; shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the Convention; shall appoint all Committees, unless otherwise ordered by the Convention.

III. All motions and addresses shall be made to the President.

IV. No motion shall be debated, or put, unless the same shall be seconded; it shall then be stated by the President; and every motion shall be reduced to writing, on the request of the President, or any member.

V. If two or more members shall rise at once, the President shall name the member who is first to speak.

VI. No member shall be referred by name in any debate.

VII. No member shall be interrupted while speaking, except by a call to order by the President, or by a member through the President; when the member called to order shall resume his seat, until permitted by the President to proceed.

VIII. Any member making a motion, may withdraw it before the question shall be taken, and before amendment made.

IX. All questions shall be put in the order they are moved, except in cases of amendment and filling up blanks, when the amendment last proposed, the highest number, and longest time, shall be first put.

X. The previous question shall be always in order; and until decided, shall preclude all amendment and debate of the main question, and shall be in this form, "shall the main question be now put?"

XI. A motion to adjourn, shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

XII. No member shall speak more than twice on the same question, without leave.

XIII. No motion for reconsideration shall be in order, unless moved by a member who voted with the majority.

Thereupon, *Resolved*, that the same be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Strong, *Resolved*, that a Committee of three be appointed, to receive the proceedings of this Convention, from the minutes of the Secretaries and reporter, and prepare them for publication.

Messrs. Slade, of Vermont, Mr. Denny, of Pennsylvania,
Hopkins, of New York,
were appointed said Committee.

On motion of Mr. Irwin, resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed, to inquire and report concerning the bearing and effect of the ties and obligations of freemasonry upon the commerce and revenue of the United States.

Messrs. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, Messrs. Ellis, of New York,
J. Williams, of New York, Bogardus, of do.
Rising, of Vermont,
were appointed said Committee.

A sealed communication was presented by Mr. Adams, from Samuel G. Anderton, of Boston, addressed to the President of the Convention, which was referred to a Committee of three, consisting of Mr. Ruggles, Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Adams. Agreeable to a verbal report of said Committee, the communication was subsequently read, and ordered to be embodied in the minutes of this Convention.*

On motion of Mr. Sweet, *Resolved*, that a Committee of —— be appointed to inquire into the pecuniary circumstances of the widow and children of William Morgan; whose duty it shall be to report to this Convention what measures should be pursued, if any, for their support. Thereupon, ordered, that the said resolution be laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Taylor, *Resolved*, that a Committee of five be appointed, to inquire as to the influence of fremasonry on the public press; and whether it be expedient for this Convention to adopt any measures in relation thereto.

Messrs. Taylor, of New York, Messrs. Schenck, of New Jersey,
Todd, of Pennsylvania, Slifer, of Maryland,
W. Williams, of New York,
were appointed said Committee.

The Convention proceeded to consider the resolution this day submitted, respecting the pecuniary circumstances of the widow and children of William Morgan.

And thereupon, ordered that the same be rejected.

On motion of Mr. Barlow, ordered, that a list of the members of this Convention, be prepared by the Secretaries; and that 500 copies be printed for the use of the members.

Then the Convention adjourned, to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, September 14, 1830.—The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Prayer by the Rev. Joseph Goffe, of Massachusetts.

Pliny Merrick, a delegate from the state of Massachusetts, and Charles Starr, a delegate from the State of New York, appeared, and took their seats.

Mr. Clark, from the Committee on the admission of honorary members, made a report, which he read in his place; and which, being amended, was adopted as a resolution as follows:

Resolved, that gentlemen friendly to the cause for which this Covention is

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* See Appendix.

assembled, from states and territories not here represented, or from such as have not a full representation, may be invited to take seats in this Convention; and that those from states not represented, may debate, but no such persons to have a vote, in any case.

On motion of Mr. Maynard, *Resolved*, that no person shall be presented to this Convention, for admission as an honorary member, from any state or territory, represented in this Convention, except by the delegation thereof; nor unless a majority of such delegation shall have agreed to recommend such person for admission.

Mr. Whittlesey, from the Committee on the abduction and murder of William Morgan, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report do lie upon the table.

Mr. Ward, from the Committee on the *time* and *place* of the origin of free-masonry, and for *what purposes* instituted, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.*

Then the Convention adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

The same day, 4 o'clock, P. M. the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Samuel Parke, a delegate from the state of Pennsylvania appeared and took his seat.

Thomas Baldwin, Joshua B. Gibbons, } of Delaware, Asaph Rrice, George Allen, Paul Barney, } of Massachusetts, and Joshua Lindley, Hon. Mr. Shepard, " " Pettengrew, } of North Carolina.

were introduced as honorary members.

Mr. Whittlesey from the Committee, to lay before this Convention subjects proper for its consideration, further reported by resolution, as follows:

Resolved, that a Committee of one from each state and territory, here represented, be appointed to consider and report, on the expediency of having candidates nominated by the Anti-masonic party, for the Presidency, and Vice Presidency of the United States, previous to the next election; and on the *manner*, *time*, and *place*, of making such nomination.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said resolution be adopted, and,

Messrs. Ellmaker, of Penn.
Maynard, of New York,
Merrick, of Massachusetts,
Holley, of Connecticut,
Slade, of Vermont,
Vanderpool, of New Jersey,
Messrs. Wadsworth, of Ohio,
Slifer, of Maryland,
Kirk, of Delaware,
Dexter, of Michigan,
Paine, of Rhode Island,

were appointed said Committee.

Mr. Hopkins from the Committee on masonic oaths, made a report which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report do lie upon the table.

Then the Convention adjourned to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, September 15, 1830, the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Prayer by Rev. Mr. Sabin, of Vermont.

Lebbeus Armstrong, David Bernard, and Thomas C. Green, delegates from the state of New York; and Ebenezer Currier, and Daniel Gilbert, delegates from the state of Ohio, appeared and took their seats.

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* This, and the other reports, adopted by the Convention, will be found in a subsequent part of this volume.—Note by the Committee.

Mr. Thacher from the Committee on the spirit of Anti-masonry, made a report which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report do lie upon the table.

Mr. Oliver from the Committee on the pretensions of freemasonry, made a report which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Seward, *Resolved*, that a Committee of one from each state and territory, here represented, be appointed to make out and report a concise account of the progress and present state of Anti-masonry throughout the United States; and,

Messrs. Seward, of New York,
Ogle, of Pennsylvania,
Terry, of Connecticut,
Kelly, of Ohio,
Walker, of Massachusetts,
Clark, of Vermont,
Messrs. Hall, of Rhode Island,
Alling, of New Jersey,
Kirk, of Delaware,
Slifer, of Maryland,
Dexter of Michigan,

were appointed said Committee.

The report of Mr. Whittlesey, from the Committee on the abduction and murder of William Morgan, yesterday laid on the table, was called up and adopted.

Then the Convention adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

The same day 4 o'clock, P. M. the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Ruggles from the Committee on the mode of defraying the contingent expenses of the Convention, reported by resolution, as follows:

Resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed to raise money, by voluntary subscription from the members of this Convention, to defray the necessary expenses of the same; and that said Committee make the disbursements which they may deem necessary for that purpose, and pay over the balance that may remain in their hands at the rising of this Convention, to the publishing Committee.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said resolution be adopted.

The Committee which made the foregoing report, were on motion of Mr. Whittlesey, constituted the Committee on the resolution aforesaid.

On motion of Mr. Read, *Resolved*, that a Committee of three, be appointed to report, at what time the business of this Convention will admit of an adjournment, *sine die*; and

Messrs. Read, of New York,
Clark, of Vermont,
Mr. Wadsworth, of Ohio,

were appointed said Committee.

Mr. Armstrong, from the Committee of the seceding masons, on a summary of freemasonry, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report do lie upon the table.

Mr. Holley, from the Committee, on an address, &c. made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon ordered, that the said report, do lie upon the table.

Then the Convention adjourned to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Thursday, September 16, 1830, the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Prayer by Rev. Mr. Armstrong, of New York.

Mr. Read, from the Committee on adjournment, reported by resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, that this Convention will adjourn, *sine die*, on Friday evening next, at 6 o'clock.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said resolution be adopted.

Mr. Taylor, from the Committee on the state of the press, &c. made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.

Mr. Seward, from the Committee on resolutions, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report do lie upon the table.

Mr. Walker, from the Committee on masonic oaths disqualifying for office, made a report which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report do lie upon the table.

The report of Mr. Hopkins on the obligatory nature of masonic oaths, was called up and adopted.

On motion of Mr. Holley, of New York, *Resolved*, that the thanks of this Convention, be respectfully tendered to John Thompson and Jacob Shearer, Esqrs. commissioners of the city and county of Philadelphia, for their courteous permission to hold the meetings of this body in the district court room: and that the Secretaries be requested to furnish them with a copy of this resolution.

The report of Mr. Holley, from the Committee on the address, &c. yesterday laid on the table, was called up and adopted.

On motion, *Resolved*, unanimously, that the names of the members of the Convention, be subscribed to the said address.

John Moore White, of New Jersey, was introduced as an honorary member.

Mr. Ellmaker, from the Committee on the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and vice Presidency of the United States, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the same do lie upon the table.

Then the Convention adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

The same day, 4 o'clock, P. M. the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Jonathan Kearsley, of Michigan, was introduced as an honorary member.

The report of Mr. Armstrong, from the Committee of seceding masons, on a summary of freemasonry was called up, and on motion of Mr. Read, recommitted, to the same Committee.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, *Resolved*, that the Committee of seceding masons, to whom it was referred to report, a summary of the prominent points in each degree of freemasonry, and that the same be certified by each member, according to the number of degrees taken, be instructed and empowered to prepare such summary, when time may permit, after the rising of this Convention, and that the same being prepared and sent from hand to hand, made correct, and certified by the signature of each seceding masonic member, according to his degree, be transmitted to the Committee of publication, and be published with the other proceedings.

The report of Mr. Thacher, from the Committee, on the spirit on Anti-masonry, was called up and adopted.

Mr. Morris, from the Committee on the disclosures of freemasonry, made a report, which he read in his place: thereupon, ordered, that the same be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Slade, the report on the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and vice Presidency of the United States, was recommitted, to the same Committee.

The report of Mr. Walker, upon the disqualifications for civil office by masonic oaths, was called up and adopted.

Then the Convention adjourned to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Friday, September 17, 1830, the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Morse, of New Jersey.

Mr. Irwin, from the Committee on the effects of masonic ties and obligations, on the commerce and revenue of the United States, asked, that said Committee be discharged from the further consideration thereof.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said Committee be discharged accordingly.

Mr. Slade, from the Committee on the Presidential nomination, made a farther report, more concisely presenting the views of the former report of the said Committee, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.

Mr. Todd, from the Committee on national correspondence made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.

and, Messrs. Henry Dana Ward, Samuel St. John, Henry Cotheal, } of New York city,

were appointed a national Committee of correspondence.

The report of Mr. Seward, from the Committee on resolutions, yesterday laid on the table, was called up and adopted.

Mr. Seward, from the Committee on the progress and present state of Anti-masonry, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, the report of Mr. Morris, from the Committee on the disclosures of freemasonry, adopted yesterday, was reconsidered.

Mr. Bernard then read a communication from N. N. Whiting, of New York, on the upper degrees of masonry. The communication was ordered to be appended to the said report, and published with it, and the report, so amended, was again adopted.

The Convention then adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

The same day, at 4 o'clock, P. M. the Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of Mr. Holley, of New York, *Resolved*, that the estimate, which Anti-masonry places upon the rights of election and the liberty of the press, as the two main pillars in the temple of our liberties, is established, undeniably, by every page of our own history, and most strikingly illustrated by the recent revolution in France.

On motion of Mr. Slade, *Resolved*, that this Convention earnestly recommend to the several state Anti-masonic Committees, to take immediate measures to solicit contributions throughout their respective states, by the agency of their county and town committees, for the gratuitous dissemination of intelligence on the subject of freemasonry.

On motion of Mr. Boileau, *Resolved*, that the address to the people of the United States, and such of the other proceedings, as the publishing Committee may select, be published in the German language.

Mr. Slade was excused from further service on the publishing Committee; and Mr. Maynard added to said Committee.

On motion of Mr. Stevens, *Resolved*, that the publishing Committee transmit to each member of this Convention, fifty copies of the proceedings, or as many as the funds raised, will warrant.

Mr. Maynard, from the Committee on the effects of freemasonry on the Christian religion, made a report, which he read in his place.

Thereupon, ordered, that the said report be adopted.

Mr. Terry moved a resolution of thanks to the President; whereupon the question being put by the first Vice Presiden, it was *Resolved unanimously*, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Hon. Francis Granger, for the able, faithful, and dignified manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.

On motion of Mr. Seward, it was *Resolved unanimously*, that the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Vice Presidents, for their dignified and

able, and to the Secretaries, for their faithful and correct discharge of their several duties, during the session of this Convention.

Thereupon, the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

APPENDIX.

LETTER FROM SAMUEL G. ANDERTON REFERRED TO IN THE JOURNAL.

Boston, August 20, 1830.

To the United States Anti-Masonic Delegates, in Convention assembled, at Philadelphia.

GENTLEMEN,

Allow me to express my acknowledgments for your exertions to suppress the evils of freemasonry. It has been my misfortune to have been hauled up and dismantled by the masonic crew. I have not only taken the horrid oaths of the order; but have witnessed the execution of the bloody penalties attached to those oaths, in true masonic form, according to the rules and usages of the fraternity; and I had strong reason to believe, from what I have been told by masons, that those executions are much more frequent than what has been generally supposed.

On the 15th of March last, I made solemn oath before a notary public and a respectable number of gentlemen in this city, to what I was an eye witness. I did it of my own free will and accord, and from a sense of duty. It has been asked why I did not do it before. I frankly answered, because I knew the nature of the masonic institution. I knew that my life must pay the forfeiture; but the death of Morgan, and soon after, that of my neighbour, which is well known to have taken place in a masonic lodge room in Boston; the death of Artemas Kennedy, at Milton, with all the mysterious, but convincing circumstances, to say nothing of several other strange deaths of masons, led me to believe that duty called me to disclose that horrid and bloody murder in Belfast in Ireland. I told the world of it as soon as I supposed it could be done with safety to my own life. But I have been vilified and slandered agreeably to masonic obligations. Masons have said, and I believe they have published, that I have denied all I had stated,—that I have said that I was drunk when I did it,—that I was bribed or hired to do it. But so far from this being true, I was repeatedly assured by the Anti-masons, before hand, that no reward whatever, either directly or indirectly, would ever be given me for it, nor have I ever expected, or received any thing. I went to sea before my affidavit was published, and have never denied a word of it, nor was I the least intoxicated; for proof of this I appeal to those gentlemen who saw me, and I believe that one or more of them are members of your honourable body. I have carefully revised my affidavit since it was published. It is possible, that I was mistaken as to one syllable in the name of the landlord on Lime Kiln Dock, the name might have been Greenwood, instead of Greenlow, though I still think that we used to call him Greenlow. But except this, and the mis-spelling of Oflin for Hofflin, and the omission of the word "*and*" after "*Belfast*," in the 5th sentence from the last.—And of the word "*sailed*" after "*ballast*," in the same sentence, (for I went to London before I joined the Hofflin,) it is correct. And I solemnly declare in the presence of that God, before whom I expect to be judged, and in presence of my country and of mankind, THAT EVERY WORD OF THAT AFFIDAVIT IS TRUE.

With this declaration, I present one hundred and fifty copies of the same to the Convention, and respectfully request their acceptance. With the highest respect for your honourable body I subscribe myself,

SAMUEL G. ANDERTON.

REPORT.

ON THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF WILLIAM MORGAN, AND ON THE CONDUCT AND MEASURES OF THE MASONIC FRATERNITY TO PREVENT CONVICTIONS, &c.

Mr. Whittlesey from the Committee next herein mentioned made the following Report:

THE Committee appointed "to report a succinct and lucid account of the abduction and murder of William Morgan, and of the conduct and measures adopted by the fraternity, jointly and as individuals, to prevent a conviction of their more prominent fellow masons in that abduction and murder," beg leave to report the following statement of facts, compiled either from the judicial evidence which has been given in courts of justice, in relation to that transaction, or from well authenticated documents, or from the personal knowledge of the facts then stated.

WILLIAM MORGAN was born on the 7th day of August, 1774, in Culpepper county, Virginia. His occupation was that of a bricklayer and stone mason. Having accumulated by his industry, a sufficient fund, he commenced business as a merchant in Richmond, Virginia. It is said, that he was a captain in a militia regiment, and that he was present at the battle of New-Orleans, in January, 1815. He married Lucinda Pendleton, in October, 1819, who was left with two infant children at the time of his abduction. He removed from Virginia in the fall of 1821, and commenced the business of a brewer, near York, in Upper Canada. The destruction of his property by fire, soon after, reduced him to poverty. He removed to Rochester, in the state of New York, and resumed his original occupation. An inflammation of the eyes, contracted soon after, incapacitated him for labour, and rendered the pressure of poverty more severe. From Rochester he removed to Batavia, where he resided in the summer of 1826. William Morgan was a member of the masonic fraternity, and had advanced as far as the degree of royal arch, in the mysteries of that society. In the summer of 1826, it became known that he was preparing for publication, a work, in which the obligations, secret signs, and ceremonies of free masonry were to be made public. It was also understood that David C. Miller, an entered apprentice mason, and a printer at Batavia, was engaged, or to be engaged in printing the work. The knowledge of these facts excited great commotion, among the members of the masonic fraternity in that vicinity, and in a wide extent of surrounding country. There was great heat and intemperance of expression in relation to the expected work, and an open avowal by members, that it should never see the light. Consultations were held among them, as to the course to be pursued in relation to the contemplated work; and it was understood, finally to have been determined, that its publication was to be prevented, at all hazards. It would appear, that there were several different and distinct projects devised to produce this result, which, either were not attempted, or failed in their execution.

Measures were taken to injure the character of Morgan, and thus to shut him out from sympathy and credit. In the month of August, 1826, an advertisement was inserted in the Ontario Messenger, printed at Canandaigua, of which the following is a copy:

"NOTICE AND CAUTION."

"If a man calling himself William Morgan, should intrude himself on the community, they should be on their guard, particularly the MASONIC FRATERNITY. Morgan was in this village in May last, and his conduct while here, and elsewhere, calls forth this notice. Any information in relation to Morgan, can be obtained by calling at the

MASONIC HALL in this village. *Brethren and companions* are particularly requested to *observe*, *mark*, and *govern* themselves accordingly. ☞ Morgan is considered a swindler and a dangerous man. ☞ There are people in this village who would be happy to see this Captain Morgan.

"*Canandaigua, August* 9, 1826."

This notice was copied into many of the newspapers in the western counties of the state of New York, and particularly into two newspapers printed at Batavia.

In the month of August, 1826, a man representing that his name was Daniel Johns, and that he was a fur trader from Canada, came to Rochester, and spent most of his time in the warehouse of Edward Doyle, who had himself, about four years previous, removed from Canada, and who was a high officer in the Monroe Encampment. About the middle of August, he went to Batavia, and ingratiated himself so far with Morgan and Miller, by offers of pecuniary advances, that he was received into their confidence, and into a participation in the publication. He remained at Batavia about three weeks, and surreptitiously possessing himself of a portion of the manuscript, suddenly left Batavia with the portion he had thus acquired, and carried it to Rochester. From thence, the manuscript was sent by a special messenger to the city of New York, and laid before the General Grand Chapter of the United States, then in session in that city.

In July, 1826, Morgan was arrested on a civil suit at Batavia, and gave bail. On the 19th of August, 1826, Johnson Goodwill, Kelsey Stone, and John Wilson of Batavia, all free masons, and Daniel H. Dana, a constable of Pembroke, about fourteen miles distant, on ascertaining that neither of the heads of the families in the house where Morgan resided, were at home, rushed into his room and seized his person, and all the papers which he was then engaged in arranging for the press. The arrest was made by virtue of a bail piece, and he was hurried to jail without time being given him to procure other bail. The sheriff was not to be found though he had been seen with the four men immediately before the arrest, and Morgan was detained in jail from Saturday until Monday following.

While he was so confined in jail, search was made at his lodgings by virtue of some pretended process, for the papers which Morgan had been engaged in preparing, but without success.

Arrangements were made for the assembling at Batavia, on the night of the 8th of September, of members of the masonic fraternity, from different and distant places. They came from Buffalo, Lockport, Canandaigua, and Rochester, and expectations were entertained that there would also be a party from Canada. None of them arrived at Batavia until in the night, when they assembled to the number of forty or fifty, or more. The object of this party was to suppress the publication of the work, by procuring the manuscript papers, and the printed sheets. For this purpose, an attack upon the printing office of Miller was contemplated, and it would seem, also, the forcible removal of Morgan from Batavia, to effect a separation between him and Miller. Eli Bruce, the sheriff of Niagara county, had been requested to prepare, and did actually prepare a cell in the jail of that county, for the reception of Morgan, whose forcible abduction, by this band of midnight conspirators, was confidently expected. Colonel Edward Sawyer, of Canandaigua, headed, or commanded this party; but they failed to effect their object, and dispersed a little before daylight, the next morning.

It is supposed that they were deterred from their purpose, by a knowledge of the fact, that Miller was aware of their intentions, and had prepared fire arms, and other ample means to defend, both his person and his property, from the attacks of violence. Many of the persons composing this party are known to have been selected and delegated for the express purpose of going to Batavia to assist in suppressing the publication of Morgan's book; and perhaps the numbers composing this party, and the different and distant places from which they came, illustrate more forcibly than any other single fact, the extent of the combination to suppress the publication of the book.

About this time, an article written by R. W. Haskins of Buffalo, appeared in the Black Rock Gazette, a paper published forty miles distant from Batavia, of which the following is a copy:

"MR. SALISBURY,

"*Sir*,—I noticed in your last paper, an inadvertent error, copied perhaps from other prints, respecting a wretch by the name of Morgan. The statement that Mor-

gan is an expelled mason, is a mistake. He is not an expelled mason, but an impostor, and a swindler, against the evil designs of whom the fraternity have amply provided. A MASON.

"*September* 7, 1826."

On the night of the 10th of September, Richard Howard, otherwise called Richard Chippersfield, who worked at Buffalo for the same Haskins who wrote the foregoing paragraph, attempted, with several others whose names are not known, to set fire to the printing office of Miller, in Batavia. The sides of the building, and the outside stairs leading to the office, had been literally sprinkled with spirits of turpentine; and straw, and cotton balls saturated with the same combustible, had been provided. It burnt fiercely and brightly upon the first application of the lamp, and had it not been instantly discovered by an individual who was accidentally a witness of it, the office must have been speedily consumed, and the lives of ten persons, then asleep in the two buildings, possibly made a sacrifice.

On Sunday morning, September 10th, Nicholas G. Chesebro, of Canandaigua, master of the lodge at that place, applied to Jeffrey Chipman, a magistrate at Canandaigua, for a warrant. Chesebro came to the office with Ebenezer C. Kingsley, who made a complaint against William Morgan, for having taken away a shirt and cravat, which he had borrowed of Kingsley. The magistrate issued the warrant upon the oath of Kingsley, which was directed to Chesebro, as one of the coroners of Ontario county, and handed to him. Chesebro, together with Halloway Hayward a constable, Henry Howard, Harris Seymour, Moses Roberts, and Joseph Scofield, all freemasons, of Canandaigua, left that place for Batavia, at about ten o'clock the same morning, in an extra stage hired by Chesebro.

The party were joined by four other individuals, all freemasons, at different places before they reached Batavia. They stopped to take supper at James Ganson's house, in Stafford, six miles east of Batavia. Doctor Samuel S. Butler of Stafford, was then introduced to some of the party, and informed that they had a warrant for Morgan. Doctor Butler went to Batavia the same evening, and was requested to inform Nathan Follett, and William Seaver, then master of the Batavia lodge, that the party were coming. He did so, and on his return met the Canandaigua party about two miles from Batavia, and informed Ganson that Follett had sent to them not to come. The stage turned about; the party that originally started from Canandaigua went into Batavia on foot, and the remainder returned. The next morning early, Morgan was arrested, and taken to the public house where the party had slept: an extra stage coach was procured, and the party left Batavia for Canandaigua, with Morgan in their custody. Miller attempted to procure the release of Morgan just as the carriage was starting, but he was pushed aside and the coach was driven off very fast, Chesebro being on the outside with the driver, and urging him to drive fast, until they should get out of the county. The driver appeared to feel uneasy about the proceedings, but was pacified by Ganson's assurance, that he would save him harmless from all responsibility. Chesebro repeatedly looked back, and said they should not take Morgan alive. They arrived at Canandaigua with Morgan the same day, and in the evening took him before the magistrate, who issued the warrant, by whom he was examined and discharged, Loton Lawson appearing as a witness on behalf of Morgan. Chesebro then immediately applied to the same magistrate for a warrant against Morgan, for a debt of about two dollars, claimed to be due from him to Aaron Ackley, a tavern keeper, which debt Chesebro alleged, was assigned to him. Judgment was entered against Morgan for two dollars and sixty-nine cents, debt and costs, and an execution immediately issued, which was put into the hands of Halloway Hayward, then present. Morgan took off his coat, and offered it to the constable to levy upon, for the debt. The constable declined receiving it, and arrested Morgan and committed him to the jail of Canandaigua the same evening, on the execution. He remained in custody in Canandaigua jail, until the evening of the next day.

Immediately after Morgan was committed to jail, Loton Lawson, a farmer residing near Canandaigua, procured a horse and went to Rochester the same night, a distance of twenty-eight miles, and returned the next morning a little after breakfast. He went to bed soon after his return, and informed the innkeeper where he slept, that some gentlemen from Rochester would call for him in the course of the day. On

the 12th of September, Burrage Smith and John Whitney, of Rochester, took the stage from that place in the morning, for Canandaigua. They were joined by James Gillis, at Victor, ten miles distant from Canandaigua, and all three arrived at the latter place early in the afternoon of the same day. Smith and Whitney called upon Loton Lawson, in the evening of the same day, September 12, Loton Lawson called at the jail a little after dark, and asked for William Morgan. The jailer was absent, and Lawson informed the jailer's wife, that he wished to pay the debt for which Morgan was confined, and take him away. Mrs. Hall, (the jailer's wife,) declined accepting the amount of the execution, on the ground that she did not know the amount, and also refused to permit Lawson to have any private conversation with Morgan. Lawson asked Morgan, however, in the presence of Mrs. Hall, if he would go home with him if he would pay the debt and take him out? To which Morgan answered, that he would; Lawson then expressed great anxiety to get Morgan out that night, and pressed Mrs. Hall to receive the amount of the debt which she still declined.

Lawson went out and returned soon with another person, whom Mrs. Hall cannot identify, and insisted on her receiving the amount of the execution. Mrs. Hall peremptorily refused. He went away and returned again, reiterating his request with the same effect. He went away again, and soon returned with Edward Sawyer, who advised Mrs. Hall to receive the amount of the debt, and let Morgan go. She still refused. She subsequently consented to discharge Morgan, at the request of Nicholas G. Chesebro, who was the real plaintiff in the execution, and took the keys of the prison for the purpose of opening Morgan's cell. Before she opened the cell, Lawson gave a single whistle at the front door, which brought a man to the jail steps. Morgan's cell was unlocked; he came out, and Lawson took him by his arm, and went towards the door of the prison hall, which was unlocked by a person on the outside, and they went out. Before they left the jail steps, Morgan was seized with violence by Lawson, and the person who was called there by his whistle. Morgan struggled, and cried "Murder," once or twice, resisting as much as possible, and in the struggle his hat fell off. Edward Sawyer and Nicholas G. Chesebro were waiting near the jail steps, and when the struggle commenced, they followed Morgan and the two men who were with him, and who were going eastwardly from the jail. Chesebro came up with them, and stopped Morgan's outcry by thrusting a handkerchief, or something similar, into his mouth. Sawyer gave a distinct rap upon the curb of a well, at which signal, Hiram Hubbard drove up with a two horse carriage, which had been harnessed, and was in waiting for the purpose. He overtook the party, having Morgan in their possession, a few rods east of the jail, when two of them thrust Morgan into the carriage, and then got in themselves. The carriage immediately turned around, and drove through Canandaigua, Main street, northerly. This was about nine o'clock in the evening, and it was a bright moonlight night. Loton Lawson, Burrage Smith, John Whitney, James Gillis, and probably one or two other persons, whose names are not known, either rode in, or accompanied, the carriage containing Morgan. It would seem, that this carriage was accompanied most of the distance by out riders, either on horse back, or in some separate conveyance. A sulkey with a man in it, started from Canandaigua just after the carriage drove through the street, for which it appeared to have been waiting some time; it drove past the carriage about three miles from Canandaigua, and stopped at Victor over night. At Victor, the carriage containing Morgan and the party with him, drove into Enos Gillis' yard, back of his barn, and out of sight from the road; and the party remained there about an hour, and took some refreshment. James Gillis here took a horse from his brother's stable, and it would also seem, that one other of the party accompanied or preceded the carriage on horse back, when it left Victor. On the morning of the 13th September, between 4 and 5 o'clock, Ezra Platt, a livery stable keeper in Rochester, and a royal arch mason, was called upon for a carriage to go to Lewiston, and requested it to be sent to Ensworth's tavern in the village. Platt has sworn that he did not know who it was that called, or who wanted the carriage. He called up Orson Parkhurst, one of his drivers, who is also a mason, and directed him to prepare the carriage. Platt charged the hire of the carriage, as he has sworn, to "The Grand Chapter, pro tem." He has not yet received his pay for such a singular charge.

The carriage containing Morgan, and the party with him, drove into Rochester about day dawn, and Hubbard watered his horses at the public reservoir, near the

centre of the village. He has testified that one individual alighted from the carriage here, and was absent about fifteen minutes, when the same person returned as he supposed. The carriage then drove north, about three miles from Rochester, where the ridge road turns off from the river road. It stopped at the tavern at the intersection of the two roads a short time, with the intention of feeding. For some reason this intention was abandoned, and Hubbard drove the carriage about half a mile from the tavern, on the ridge road, and set down the whole party in the road, at a distance from any house, and near a piece of wood. The curtains of this carriage, so far as it had been seen by day light, were closed. After Hubbard had set his party down, he returned, with the curtains of his carriage rolled up. Soon after the carriage left the tavern, going west, Edward Doyle, of Rochester, rode up, on a horse belonging to Ezra Platt, and inquired if such a carriage had passed, and which way it went, Being informed, he followed after it. Platt's carriage, driven by Orson Parkhurst, with some individuals in it, soon drove on the same road. It took up the party that Hubbard had left in the road, or a portion of them, with Morgan, and drove west. Edward Doyle, on horse back, and four or five persons in Hubbard's carriage, returned to Rochester

A gentleman of Clarkson had engaged a pair of horses of Silas Walbridge, of that place, to put before a carriage. The carriage driven by Parkhurst drove up to Clarkson about 9 o'clock in the morning, with the curtains and windows closed, though it was a warm day. This is about fifteen miles west of the place where Parkhurst took in his party. Upon its arrival in the street of Clarkson, the gentleman who had engaged Walbridge's horses, told him that he should not want them, and immediately got into his sulkey, and drove about two and a half miles further west, and engaged a pair of horses of one Captain Isaac Allen, a farmer. The carriage did not stop in Clarkson, but drove on to Allen's. Upon its arrival, Allen's horses were taken out of the orchard, where they had been drawing apples, and were harnessed to the carriage which Parkhurst drove, in exchange for the horses which he had before driven; and Parkhurst mounted the box again, and drove on west. When the carriage arrived at Gaines, about fifteen miles west of Clarkson, Elihu Mather, residing at that place, took the horses of his brother, James Mather, and followed the carriage, which had passed west through the village. He overtook it at some distance from the village, where the horses were exchanged in the street, at a distance from any house. When the exchange was effected, Elihu Mather himself got upon the box, and drove the carriage west, while Parkhurst returned east, with Allen's horses.

The stage which had left Rochester early the same morning, arrived at Murdoch's tavern before the carriage containing Morgan passed. A gentleman of high standing, of Rochester, was one of the passengers in the stage; when the stage arrived at Murdoch's tavern, this gentleman called the man aside who then had charge of the tavern, and asked him if he was a royal arch mason; being answered in the negative, he asked for writing materials, with which he wrote a note, and despatched a boy with it to Jeremiah Brown, residing in that vicinity. Jeremiah Brown came to the tavern soon after, and held a conversation with him. When the stage went on, Brown and the gentleman both went on, in it. Soon after, Brown returned to the tavern with two horses, riding one and leading the other. When the carriage containing Morgan came along, which was soon after; Elihu Mather, who was then driving it, beckoned to Brown after the carriage had passed the house a short distance, and Brown went up to him, and appeared to hold some conversation with him. The carriage drove on. Brown took his horses, and followed on after it; but it would seem that he left his horses, and got on to the carriage himself. Burrage Smith had followed the Morgan carriage in a sulkey, but he had not overtaken it when the carriage arrived at Murdoch's. The carriage stopped at evening, at the tavern of Solomon C. Wright, in New Fane, Niagara county, where the road turns off to Lockport, and about three miles distant therefrom. It was here driven into the barn and the doors closed, and the party remained at this place some time, to procure refreshments, and to make arrangements for relieving those who had travelled in the carriage with Morgan all day, and the whole of the previous night, and who must necessarily have been greatly fatigued.

Burrage Smith went to Lockport in his sulkey, and together with Jared Darrow called upon Eli Bruce, the sheriff of Niagara county, and informed him that Morgan

was in their possession, and was going to Canada; and requested Bruce's assistance in getting him along. Bruce and some others went to Wright's, where several persons were assembled. Bruce and David Hague got into the carriage with Morgan; Elihu Mather drove, and Jeremiah Brown was on the box with him, and they left Wright's about ten o'clock in the evening. The persons who came there with Morgan, probably most of them went to Lockport that night, and went into Lewiston the next day in a stage coach. At Molyneux's tavern, six miles distant, they stopped; and Bruce procured Molyneux's horses, in exchange for Mather's. An individual accompanied the carriage on horse back. Brown then drove, and they reached Lewiston, fourteen miles distant from Molyneux's, somewhat after midnight. The carriage was driven around to a back street, and unharnessed. Samuel Burton, one of the proprietors of the stage line, at Lewiston, was called upon for assistance. He called up Corydon Fox, one of his drivers, and directed him to harness a carriage. He did so, and drove up to the tavern. Bruce got upon the box with him, and by his direction, Fox drove around to the back street, where the other carriage was unharnessed, when Morgan was taken out of the one carriage, and put into the carriage which Fox drove. Bruce and Hague got in with him, and Fox, by Bruce's direction, drove to Youngstown. They called at the house of Colonel William King, at Youngstown, and stopped. Bruce alighted and called up King, who came out with Bruce, and both got into the carriage. Fox drove on towards the fort, by Bruce's direction, and when arrived at the burying ground near the fort, he was told to stop. He did so, when the persons having Morgan in charge, got out, together with Morgan, and all four walked off, arm in arm, towards the fort, and Fox was told he might return. Morgan was hoodwinked and bound at this time. It appears that arrangements had been previously made, for the reception of Morgan upon the Canada side of the river, with persons residing upon that side. After the party left the carriage, they went to the ferry house, and Colonel King called up Edward Giddins, who then kept the ferry. All of them crossed the river, together with Giddins, and landed nearly opposite to the fort, at some distance from any dwelling. Mr. Giddins and David Hague remained at the boat with Morgan, while Colonel King and Sheriff Bruce went into the village of Niagara, to see the masons with whom it had been arranged to receive their victim. They were absent about two hours, and returned with two other men, one of whom was Edward McBride, then a member of the parliament of Upper Canada. After some conference, it was determined to bring Morgan back again, inasmuch as the arrangements for his reception in Canada were not yet complete. This event had probably been anticipated, as both Giddins and the keeper of the fort had been requested, two or three days previous, to prepare the magazine for the reception of Morgan, which they had accordingly done, by removing the principal part of the public property from it. After the refusal of the Canada masons to receive Morgan, the same persons who had taken him across the river, re-crossed with him, and placed him in the magazine, which had been so prepared for his reception, and locked him in. This was some time before day dawn, on the morning of the 14th September, 1826. Morgan was left in charge of Edward Giddins. The fort was unoccupied by troops, and indeed was entirely deserted, except by Giddins and the keeper, and their respective families.

On the 14th day of September, 1826, a royal arch chapter was installed at Lewiston; which event called together a very considerable assemblage of masons, of that degree, from Rochester, Buffalo, Lockport, and other places in that vicinity. It would appear from the testimony of one or two witnesses, and the statements of others, that scarce an individual mason, attending that installation, could have been ignorant of the fact, that Morgan was at that time confined in the magazine of fort Niagara. It appears to have been a subject of conversation among them, and several were then informed that such was the fact. On the day of the installation, Giddins remained at the fort, to see that all was kept safe. He, together with John Jackson, went to the magazine, for the purpose of carrying Morgan some food. Morgan refused to admit them, and said he would starve rather than fall into their hands; and he made so great an outcry as to render it necessary to dispatch Jackson to Lewiston, to procure the assistance of some one to silence him. David Hague came down in haste, a distance of seven miles, but did not succeed in quieting Morgan. Two other persons were then sent down from Lewiston, and one of them, (Loton Lawson) of whom Morgan seemed to have a great dread, went into the magazine, and suc-

ceeded in stilling him. In the evening, twenty or thirty persons, besides those belonging to the fort, came from Lewiston, and were at the fort. About midnight, seven persons, all royal arch masons, held a consultation on the plain near the grave yard, some rods distant from the fort, as to the manner in which Morgan should be disposed of. There seemed to be but one opinion among them all: that Morgan had forfeited his life, for a breach of his masonic obligations; and that it was their duty as masons, to see that the penalty was executed. They came to a determination to proceed in a body and seize Morgan, and perform their own duty, by casting him into the river. After they had started to carry this determination into effect, one of the company discovered a reluctance to go such lengths, which encouraged others to remonstrate, and the project was abandoned for that time, On the night of the 15th, a similar consultation was held between four persons, as to the disposition of Morgan, but nothing was decided upon. At this consultation, Colonel King became offended with Mr. Giddins, for expressing a desire that Morgan should be released; and Giddins surrendered to him the key of the magazine, which was afterwards entrusted to the care of Elisha Adams. It is known that Morgan remained confined in the magazine during the 16th and 17th, and it is believed that he was so confined until the 19th of September.

As to the disposition of Morgan, after the evening of the 14th of September, nothing has yet been made known judicially, but circumstances are strong, to induce the belief, that he was put to death on the night of the 19th of September, 1826, by being cast into the depths of Niagara river. Several persons have been informed, by those who were understood to be cognizant of the guilty secret, that such was the fact, and Hiram B. Hopkins, has testified, that he, as a mason, was informed in January, 1827, that Morgan had been murdered. William P. Daniels who was called as a witness, at the late trials at Lockport, refused to answer a question, on the ground that he might criminate himself as an accessary to the crime of murder, although he was told expressly by the judge, that he must have better evidence, that a murder had been committed, than the public possessed, before he could decline answering on such ground.

It will strike any one, on hearing a recital of the facts connected with the abduction of William Morgan, that the combination to effect that measure, must have been very extensive, embracing a large number of individuals. The judicial examinations of the subject have brought out very many names as connected in a nearer or more remote degree, with the transaction at some stage of its progress. The bare seizure and transportation of a man from such a distance, rendered the employment of many agents, a matter of absolute necessity, and it is now well known that many knew of it, who took no active part in the infraction of the laws. It was probably known to numbers of the lodge-going masons, in several of the western counties of New York, that some measures were contemplated to be taken for the suppression of Morgan's intended publication; and it has been judicially proven, that measures, which contemplated the use of violence, to effect this object, were matter of discussion among masons in the lodge room.

It would be naturally supposed, that a conspiracy, so wide spread, the execution and knowledge of which was confided to so many individuals, would not oppose formidable difficulties to a complete exposure by judicial investigation. In the history of crime, those which employ the most accomplices, are usually the easiest of detection, particularly if the agency of some partake but slightly of guilt. But such was not the case in the investigation of this violation of the laws, and the difficulties which were encountered, will be hereafter noticed.

In January, 1827, the trial of Nicholas G. Chesebro, Edward Sawyer, Loton Lawson, and John Sheldon, for their agency in the conspiracy, was brought on before Judge Throop, at Canandaigua; the three first, under the advice of counsel, pleaded guilty, and the only question, as to the last to be tried, was the identity of the man. This course excluded the testimony in relation to the conspiracy, which was anxiously looked for by the public. Lawson was sentenced to two years imprisonment in the county jail of Ontario county, Chesebro to one year, and Sawyer, to one month. Sheldon was found guilty and sentenced to three months imprisonment.

In April, 1827, Jesse French, James Hurlburt, Roswell Willcox, and James Gannon, were tried at Batavia, in Genessee county, for the forcible arrest of David C.

Miller. They were all found guilty, but Ganson: French was sentenced to an imprisonment of one year, Wilcox for six months, and Hurlburt for three months.

In February, 1827, several of the persons who went in the carriage from Canandaigua to Batavia, and arrested Morgan, and brought him to Canandaigua, were tried at the general sessions in Ontario, for forcibly seizing, and falsely imprisoning William Morgan, and they were acquitted, on the ground that they were protected by the warrant for his arrest. In August, 1827, Harris Seymour, Henry Howard, Halloway Hayward, Moses Roberts, James Ganson, Chauncey H. Coe, Hiram Hubbard, and James Lakey were tried at Canandaigua, for a conspiracy to kidnap and carry away William Morgan, and were all acquitted. Application had been made to De Witt Clinton, then governor of the state of New York, for the removal of Eli Bruce, sheriff of Niagara county, for his participation in the abduction of Morgan. The sheriffs in the state of New York are elected by the people, but the constitution provides for their removal by the executive, for good cause shown, on charges preferred, after giving the officer time for his defence. This application was pending before the governor, for a long time, but on the 26th day of September, 1827, he issued his proclamation removing Eli Bruce from the office of sheriff.

Eli Bruce, Orsamus Turner, and Jared Darrow, were tried at Canandaigua, in August, 1828, for their agency in the conspiracy; Eli Bruce was found guilty, the two last were acquitted. A question of law, arising out of the indictment, was carried up to the supreme court,—decided against the defendant, and he was sentenced to an imprisonment of two years and four months in Canandaigua jail.

In May, 1829, John Whitney and James Gillis were tried at Canandaigua. John Whitney was convicted and sentenced to an imprisonment of one year and three months. The Jury could not agree in the case of Gillis.

In November, 1829, Elihu Mather was tried at Albion, in Orleans county, and after a trial which consumed nearly two weeks, he was acquitted by the verdict of the jury. A motion for a new trial was made by the special attorney, but the supreme court denied it.

In June, 1830, Ezekiel Jewet, and Jeremiah Brown, were tried at Lockport, in Niagara county, and were severally acquitted. In addition to these trials, there are indictments now pending and undetermined, against eighteen persons, some of which will probably not be further prosecuted.

David Hague, William King, and Burrage Smith are dead; William King died suddenly, the morning after he received information of the testimony of Eli Bruce, on the trial of John Whitney.

Having thus given a brief history of the abduction of William Morgan, and noticed the trials growing out of that transaction, it now becomes the duty of your committee, to furnish a statement of the conduct and measures of numbers of the masonic fraternity, to prevent the conviction of those implicated in these gross violations of the laws of the land. Appalling as is the conviction which is pressed upon us by the history of that abduction, that hundreds of respectable men, in the western counties of the state of New York, could be found, who would be willing to violate the laws of the state, and the sacredness of private property, personal liberty, and human life, to prevent the publication of the secrets of free masonry, yet, it would be infinitely more alarming, if it should be found, that great numbers of the members of that fraternity, had made use of every possible device to prevent the discovery of a high handed offence, and to obstruct the administration of justice, and the due execution of the laws. The first, however extensive the combination may have been, was but a single outrage, and like hundreds of other fearful crimes, might have been punished and forgotten, and the public have felt secure in the protection of the laws, in witnessing the unobstructed execution of their penalties. The latter, by unhinging the whole administration of justice, would exhibit a state of facts deeply alarming to a community, who eminently repose upon the laws under which they live for protection, and rely undoubtingly upon their due and impartial administration. When rumours of these outrages first became public, the citizens of the community, in which they were perpetrated, felt themselves called upon to investigate how it was, that a peaceable citizen should be forcibly seized in a populous village, and transported against his will, one hundred and fifty miles, through a thickly settled country. As worthy of a free government, they deemed themselves bound to ascertain why, and by whom, a fellow citizen, enjoying

the same privileges, was abstracted from the protection of the laws, under circumstances which created well grounded suspicions of a horrible fate. The inquiries for information in relation to Morgan, were answered by taunts, reproaches, and ridicule. At first, the members of the fraternity were bold enough, openly to declare, "That if Morgan had been put to death, his fate was no more than he deserved; he had forfeited his life." These declarations were made by perhaps hundreds of freemasons, within two months after the abduction, and there is scarce an individual, who at that early period took any interest in the investigation, but can call to mind distinctly, many such declarations, made by respectable and influential men.

When intimations were thrown out that an appeal would be made to the laws, more than one freemason has been heard to say, that the judges were masons, the sheriffs were masons, and the jurymen would be masons, and set at defiance the requirements of justice.

There seems to have been a determination on the part of the fraternity, not only to suppress all information in relation to the outrages, but even to repress inquiries and questionings, which might tend to elucidate it. Individuals who ventured to make remarks which such an infraction of the laws were calculated to elicit, were made the subjects of unreasonable abuse, and vindictive hostility, by the lodge-going members of the fraternity. The public press, which has, in almost every other instance of alarming crime, been made in some measure the means of its investigation, or at least of making public its details, was, in this instance, with a single exception at first, awed into the most slavish silence, by the influence of freemasonry. The conductors of many of the public prints in western New York, were themselves masons, and the proprietors of others, who did not belong to the fraternity, were soon given to understand that it would be most fatal to their interests, to publish any thing in relation to the ill fated Morgan. A single instance may illustrate this species of influence. In the month of October, or November, 1826, Elihu F. Marshall, a quaker, and the conductor of a paper, called "The Album," published in the village of Rochester, ventured to say, in an editorial article, that the unlawful abduction of William Morgan ought to be the subject of investigation. The paper with an article of this import had no sooner appeared, than Edward Doyle, a knight templar, and treasurer of the Monroe Encampment, rushed into the office of the Album in a storm of rage, ordered his paper to be discontinued, and his advertisements stopped, and told Marshall if he did not cease publishing articles against the masonic fraternity, many others would take the same course, but that if he retracted the next week, all might yet be well. Doyle then went to the printing office of a royal arch mason, and boasted "that he had shut the quaker's head." We regret to add, that the timid editor quailed under the masonic threat, and in his next paper made a partial retraction of his previous article.

In addition to the difficulties thrown in the way of investigation, by the silence of the public press, thus coerced, the public mind was distracted and misled by false statements, in relation to the re-appearance of Morgan, published in prints under masonic control; so much so, that public belief upon this subject was for a long time unsettled, and the efforts of the investigation paralyzed. There can be little doubt but that the authors of such statements contemplated such results, and hoped, if possible, by these means to avert punishment from the guilty, or to excite doubts as to the guilt of the agents in the abduction. It should not be forgotten either, that Corydon Fox, who was heedlessly selected to drive the carriage from Lewiston to fort Niagara, not being at the time a mason, was, a few days after, admitted to a membership in the fraternity, without fee or reward, in the hope, doubtless, that his masonic obligations, thus thrust upon him, would effectually seal his lips, as to the transactions which he witnessed, on that eventful night.

At the time of Morgan's abduction, the sheriffs of the different counties of the state of New York had the sole power of selecting, and summoning, the grand juries for the several courts within their respective counties; and such selection was made a short time previous to the session of each court. At the same period, also, the sheriffs of the respective counties of Erie, Niagara, Genessee, Orleans, Livingston, Monroe, and Ontario, which were the theatre of the outrage, were all masons, and it is believed, that all of them were of the degree of royal arch.

A grand jury, which met in Genessee county after the abduction, was convened in February, 1827; Doctor Samuel S. Butler, of Stafford, in that county, was ap-

pointed foreman. He was a knight templar, and a large portion of the jury were masons. He said to one of the jurymen, also a knight templar, "a majority of the jurors are masons; we have got the stuff in our own hands, and our friends must not be indicted."

The first grand jury which was summoned in Niagara county, (of which Eli Bruce was sheriff,) after inquiries began to be made in relation to the outrage, met in January, 1827. Sixteen masons were summoned on that grand jury, and several who were friendly to the institution. No examination was, however, made before that grand jury, as the witnesses had been supœnaed to attend at that time in Canandaigua upon the trial of Chesebro and others. At the court of Oyer and Terminer, held in Niagara county, in April, 1827, the sheriff again summoned the grand jurors. There were twenty-one members present, thirteen of them were freemasons, and and six friendly to them. Paul Haws, who has since been found to be an important witness, and Norman Shephard since indicted for the Morgan conspiracy, were two of these grand jurors. At the May sessions, a majority of masons were summoned on the jury, and at the September sessions, about half of the jurors were freemasons, but there were a number who were warmly in favour of the institution. Eli Bruce, however, was indicted at Canandaigua, a short time before the September sessions.

Complaint was made against Eli Bruce, sheriff of the county, before the April grand jury, for being concerned in the abduction of Morgan. The foreman, a freemason, examined the witnesses. In the course of the examination, one of the other jurors ventured to ask a witness some questions. The foreman called this juror aside and privately solicited him, thereafter, to refrain from asking questions. Some of the jurors had been furnished with questions in writing, to put to particular witnesses, with a view of eliciting the truth. It was known that such papers were in the room, and the jury voted, by a large majority, that no use should be made of them. One juror insisted, however, on making use of them. One witness stated that he knew nothing which would go to convict any person upon: being called upon to state what he did know, he asked to be excused, because he was poor, and his testimony might prove his ruin. A large majority of the jury voted to excuse him from answering. One of the jurors pertinaciously insisted upon the witness' answer, and after a long debate, finally obtained his answer. One witness, notwitstanding all the cunning in keeping the questions, did testify to Bruce's acknowledgement of his agency in carrying Morgan to Niagara. Several witnesses were afterwards called to impeach the testimony of this witness, and one or two did answer that he was not to believed on his oath. One witness testified, that he had been informed by a respectable individual in Canada, in whom the witness had full confidence, that Morgan had been carried to fort Niagara, thence to the Canada shore, and was from thence returned to the fort again,—that Morgan had been put to death, and that his body was in the bottom of Niagara river, and might be found, if searched for immediately, and that he, (the informant,) could tell the place where it could be found. The witness stated that he received this information from a mason, who enjoined the witness to keep his name a secret, as if known, his life would be the forfeit. One juror insisted that the witness should name the person who gave him this information, but he refused, and nearly, if not quite all the other jurors present, sustained the witness in his refusal, and he was allowed to retire without answering the question. While this jury was in session, the foreman took Eli Bruce privately into a side room, and was there with him some time. This grand jury, so far from finding any indictment against Eli Bruce, or any other person, drew up a presentment to the court, that they had discovered nothing which would authorise them to find a bill against any person, and also framed and sent a memorial to the governor, in which they stated that there was not a shadow of testimony implicating Eli Bruce, as guilty of, or accessary to the abduction of Morgan, with the exception of one witness, who was so contradicted, and whose general reputation was so bad, that they did not place any reliance upon it.

It is very certain that a series of questions, to be propounded to the witnesses, had been so framed, that the witnesses could answer without eliciting any dangerous information. This must have been the case, or real perjury must have been repeatedly committed, on the investigation before them. All the important witnesses to trace the whole abduction from Rochester to fort Niagara, were examined before this grand jury; the same witnesses, upon whose testimony, bills have been found in

other cases, and convictions had. Thirteen of the witnesses examined before this grand jury, have been since indicted, not one of whom protected himself on the examination, on the ground that he should criminate himself. Three of them, David Hague, Orsamus Turner, and Jared Darrow, have since been shown by the testimony of Eli Bruce, himself, to have had a criminal agency in the abduction. Edward Giddins, in his published "Statement of Facts," says, he was subpœnaed before this grand jury, which much alarmed those who were implicated. One of them informed Giddins, that he would go and see the foreman, and state to him Giddins' situation, that he might know how to question him, so that his answers might not injure others. He subsequently informed Giddins that he had told the foreman what Giddins knew of the affair, and that the foreman would put no question but what Giddins could safely answer.

Hiram B. Hopkins, a royal arch mason, a deputy under Bruce, and personally knowing to the abduction of Morgan at the time, says, in a published letter, dated, February 28, 1830.—"After the abduction of Captain Morgan, I used frequently to ask the masons how they expected to escape punishment for that outrage, adding that if found out, the perpetrators of the deed would have to suffer the reward due to their crimes. They have told me time and again, that they would never be brought to punishment, because all were masons with whom they had to deal, and particularly the sheriffs of those counties, in which the offence was committed, were all masons, who had the selecting of the grand juries: that no grand jury would be summoned without being two thirds masons. And when the time arrived for summoning the grand jury for this county, (Niagara,) I had my orders not to summon any but such as were particularly friendly to the masonic institution. Says Bruce, we must have at least two thirds of them masons, and the others friendly to the order. If we have all masons they will suspect us. The jury was accordingly summoned. The subject of the abduction was brought before them. The district attorney was a royal arch mason who knew all about the Morgan affair, in my opinion, and the foreman of the jury was one of the warmest zealots of the order in the county. If I mistake not, more than two thirds of the jury were masons. The district attorney and foreman, so framed the questions propounded to the witnesses, that after thus examining them, they drew up an instrument signed by all the jury, the substance of which was, that they had no reason to believe that Morgan had ever passed through this county."

When the inhabitants of Monroe county first held their meeting, to take into consideration the outrages, and devise means for their investigation, the meeting at that time, placed so much confidence in the professions of willingness, made by members of the fraternity, to aid in the investigation of these outrages, that they appointed four or five masons upon the committee of investigation. This committee, after their appointment, held their meetings, and commenced upon their inquiries, and at the same time entered into an honorary obligation with each other, not to disclose any information which might be obtained by the committee, only so far as was necessary to procure the arrest of offenders that might be discovered. The members of the committee who were not masons, soon ascertained that the lodge-going members of the fraternity in the village, were kept constantly informed of the proceedings of the committee, and of the information which they had collected. One of the masonic members of this committee, then a knight templar, stated at a lodge meeting, soon after the committee was appointed, "that he had no doubt that what had been done with Morgan was intended for the best, but it had turned out otherwise, and was an unfortunate business. That he did not wish to know any thing about it, he was on the committee, and cautioned them if they knew any thing about the business, to keep it to themselves, as he was in a delicate situation." The other members of the committee soon ascertained, that no assistance could be expected from freemasons in aid of the investigation, and felt themselves compelled to withdraw from them, and pursue their inquiries by themselves.

When the different committees had by great diligence, succeeded in tracing Morgan to Lewiston, they appointed delegates from among their own members, to proceed to that place, and push their inquiries as to his final fate. They went there, to the number of seventeen, in the month of January, 1827. The members of the fraternity in that place and the vicinity, were obviously alarmed and excited, and collected from Lewiston, Niagara Falls, Youngstown, and other places in the vicinity to the

number of forty or fifty, some of them armed, exhibiting, and expressing the utmost rage and vindictiveness towards the convention, on account of the purpose of their meeting. They heaped every epithet of insult and reproach upon those quiet men, who had come from a great distance with no other purpose than the lawful investigation of an outrage against the laws. They came rudely into the room where they met, and after insultingly taking the light, and looking around into the faces of those who were there, extinguished it and left them in darkness. Their object, evidently was, to provoke the members of the convention to violence and resistance, and thus to bring on a general affray, which must have terminated in bloodshed. So disgraceful a result was only prevented by the moderation of the convention. A general conference was had between the two parties, when the district attorney of Niagara county, a royal arch mason, reproached them for coming into his county to investigate a crime which they could look after themselves, and lavished upon them the most vituperative language and vindictive abuse. It is almost needless to say, that the convention were not deterred by this violent conduct from pursuing their inquiries.

Soon after the conviction of Chesebro and others, at Canandaigua, and while the Lewiston convention were holding their meeting, Burrage Smith and John Whitney, of Rochester, privately left their places of residence. One of the Rochester committee, soon after, saw Burrage Smith in Albany, and informed Bowen Whiting, Esq. district attorney of Ontario county, who was also there, of the fact. Mr. Whiting applied to John O. Cole, police justice of Albany, and an officer of the grand chapter of the state, for a warrant to arrest Smith for the conspiracy. The magistrate made out the warrant early in the morning of the 2d of February, 1827, and retained it, to place it in the hands of an officer for service. Though a constable came into his office soon after the warrant was made out, and was there again more than once in the forenoon, yet the warrant was not put into a constable's hands until the middle of the afternoon. The constable went immediately to the public house where he was directed to serve it, and was told by the bar-keeper, that he had a warrant for Smith, but that he was too late; Smith had escaped. It was soon afterwards ascertained, that Smith and Whitney had both fled from the northern parts of the United States, and that money had been furnished to one of them from the funds of the grand chapter, to enable them to flee from their homes, as fugitives from justice.

In December, after the abduction, Colonel William King, left the state of New York, and procured the appointment of sutler at Cantonment Towson in the territory of Arkansas, whither he removed. In December, 1827, Messrs. Garlinghouse, Bates and Mead, received requisitions from the governor of the state of New York, addressed to the governors of Louisiana and Arkansas, for the surrender of William King, charged with the murder, and Burrage Smith and John Whitney, charged with the abduction of William Morgan, as fugitives from justice. They went to Arkansas, and obtained the necessary papers from Governor Izard, and proceeded to Cantonment Towson, which they reached, February 14, 1828.

Mr. Garlinghouse went alone, and privately presented his papers to Captain R. B. Hyde, the commandant at the station, while his companions remained without the fort. He exhibited the order of the governor,—a letter from the adjutant general under the direction of the secretary of war, and a letter from Colonel Arbuckle, commanding officer at Cantonment Gibson, and requested Captain Hyde, to give assistance in the arrest of William King, then sutler at the station. He refused to assist, or afford assistance, and refused to furnish a guard for his removal, but said he would send for Lieutenant Colquhon to accompany him to King's store. He went out for that purpose, and was absent a short time. Soon after his return, a report was brought in that Lieutenant Colquhon could not be found. Another officer was then sent for, with whom Garlinghouse went to King's store, but found he had gone away with Lieutenant Colquhon, and after diligent search he could not be found. Clark Sanders states, that Captain Hyde had a conversation with Lieutenant Colquhon in his short absence to find a messenger to send for him, and that Lieutenant Colquhon stated to Mr. Bates, that he informed King that some one was in pursuit of him, and went with him into the woods, when he, (the Lieutenant,) came back and ascertained that King was to be arrested for the murder of William Morgan, and then directed King's clerk, to take his (King's) horse, into the woods, which he did, and King rode off. It is understood that Captain Hyde, and Lieu-

tenant Colquhon were masons. King was not arrested, neither were Smith or Whitney, though they were heard of frequently.

Preparations were made in the winter of 1827, by the Batavia committee, to procure the arrest of Richard Howard, of Buffalo. for a supposed agency in setting fire to Colonel Miller's office. He, however, fled before he was arrested, and from the affidavit of John Mann, taken in February of that year, there is reason to believe that he feared punishment for a higher crime than even midnight arson. From another affidavit made by Avery Allen, in March, 1829, it would appear that this Richard Howard came to the city of New York, in February, or March, 1827, and attended a masonic meeting at St. John's Hall, in that city, where he confessed in open lodge, that he assisted in putting Morgan to death, and that he was furnished with funds by the knight's companions, then present, to escape to Europe, and that after being secreted from pursuit by members of the fraternity, he did escape; certain it is, that no information has been received of this Howard since he absconded, and that the officers of justice have not been able to penetrate the veil of secrecy which concealed his flight.

One great difficulty that has been met with in the prosecution of the conspirators, is that of procuring the attendance of masonic witnesses. Witnesses who still belonged to the institution, were reluctant in their attendance at court, and frequently refused to obey the ordinary process of subpœna or evaded its service. This was so often the case, that it was frequently necessary to procure their arrest long before the courts, at which their attendance was wanted, should sit, and place them under heavy bonds to ensure their attendance. This unusual course was necessarily adopted in several instances, when the inefficacy of the ordinary process had been made most abundantly manifest. Difficulties never encountered in any other prosecution were here encountered at every court, and at every step. Witnesses have been secreted and sent off without the jurisdiction of the courts, and remained concealed for many months before any information could be obtained respecting them. These occurrences were so frequent, and of such a character as to forbid the belief that they were the result of individual effort alone. They evinced that extended combination, which almost irresistibly presses upon the mind the conviction, that they were the result of the secret and mystic agency of freemasonry, which alone from its peculiar organization possesses the means of such extensive and secret concert. Some facts under this head may illustrate this branch of the subject. In the summer of 1827, Elisha Adams, the same man to whom Giddins transferred the keys of the magazine, was served with a subpœna to attend a court at Canandaigua. He started, in obedience to the process, and came as far as Rochester. From this place all trace of him was lost. He had disappeared, and was not heard of for months, though the most diligent inquiries were made respecting him, and even public inquiries in the newspapers were made for him throughout the country. In the spring of 1828, it was ascertained that he was residing in a secluded manner in the northern part of Vermont. Measures were taken for his arrest with such secrecy and despatch, that he was apprehended about 3 o'clock in the morning, and before he could be advised that his place of residence had become known. He expressed no surprise at his arrest, but said that he did expect to have been informed before any process could be served upon him. In the course of his journey to Rochester, he conversed freely and fully with the agent having him in charge, and frequently avowed his determination "to make a clean breast of it," when called upon as a witness, by telling the truth. As it was known that he was a reluctant agent of the conspirators, confidence was placed in his promises in this particular. He continued in this frame of mind until he arrived at Rochester, where he was at once surrounded by the counsel for the conspirators, and the guilty royal arch companions of that place, who soon succeeded in establishing their mysterious influence over his conscience, and subjecting him to that obligation of their peculiar code, which under the most fearful penalties enjoins the keeping of a companion's secret in all cases, "murder and treason not excepted." After his interview with these men, he manifested a determination not to testify, and from his declarations to an old friend, we are led to believe that he was deterred from telling the truth by threats of a fate as horrible as was that of Morgan.

Orson Parkhurst, the person who drove Platt's carriage, containing Morgan, from Rochester westward, as soon as the outrages became a matter of public investiga-

tion, was found to be absent. No trace of him could be found, and attempts were made to mislead the committees, by representing that he had gone to Michigan, and other places, widely different from the place of his actual concealment. The most diligent inquiries were made respecting him for months, and even years, and all hopes of penetrating the concealment which screened him, were nearly abandoned, when his place of residence was discovered, in August, 1829. Prompt, efficient, and secret measures were immediately taken, to secure his attendance as a witness, and he was unexpectedly arrested in the eastern part of Vermont. He had supposed that all danger of finding him had passed; and he was living in the fancied security, that if any danger of this kind threatened him, he should receive timely information. He was regularly advised by his Rochester brethren of all that transpired; and twice during his absence, George Ketchum, a pensioned agent of the fraternity, had visited him. Twice, also, had he left his place of residence, and at each time, spent some months hiding in another state. He was brought as far as Albany; in the mean time, the fraternity at Rochester had become suspicious of the true state of the case, and sent on to Albany, that he must, at all events, be abstracted from the person having him in charge. Possessed of these instructions, agents were employed to keep a vigilant watch; and when he left Albany, in charge of the agent of the state, he was followed by an agent of the fraternity. He was thus pursued westward, nearly two hundred miles. At Montezuma, an unknown person came on board the canal boat in which Parkhurst was, just at night. He did not give his name, and no one knew him. That night, the unknown individual and Parkhurst escaped from the boat, and no tidings have been heard of him since. Parkhurst was himself a mason, and if he had testified to the truth, would have been a most important witness. It is believed, that his testimony would have disclosed the agency of several persons in Rochester in the conspiracy, against whom no proof had hitherto been found. They had therefore a deep stake in his absence.

The driver of the stage west, on the morning when Morgan was carried through Rochester, might, by his testimony, have thrown some light upon the subject. He also left the place, and when at length it was ascertained, in August, 1829, where he was, measures were taken to secure his attendance as a witness. Although these measures were taken with every precaution of secrecy, yet, by some unaccountable means, he became informed of them, and fled just before the officer arrived to arrest him; and the information that might have been derived from his testimony was entirely lost.

Isaac Farwell was present at Solomon C. Wright's, on the evening of the 13th of September, when the party was there with Morgan; and as they remained at that place several hours, and procured an accession to the number of the conspirators, his testimony was exceedingly important. He, however, with the assistance of members of the masonic fraternity, so skilfully avoided the process that was issued to compel his attendance, that the public prosecutor only succeeded once in getting him before a grand jury. After that, he forfeited the bonds which he had given for his appearance to testify on trial; and not all the constant exertions of vigilant officers were sufficient to discover him again. For many months, he was secretly flying from county to county, and as the approach of courts rendered new exertions to secure him probable, hiding in Canada, without the jurisdiction of state process. Just previous to the last special circuit, held in Niagara county, the prosecuting officer of that county ascertained that he had passed through Lockport but a short time previous, and supposing that it was his intention to visit his family, who resided three miles from that place, he sent an officer there to secure him. Farwell did not visit his family, though he had not seen them for many months. It was subsequently ascertained, that he had been informed of the hazard to which he exposed some of the fraternity, by an appearance so open, and that he was taken by the wife of Solomon C. Wright, and smuggled off to Canada the same night, without even being permitted to visit his own house, or to inform his wife that he was in that vicinity. These are not the only instances of witnesses absconding or being secreted, but if all were to be enumerated, the detail would be found to be too tedious. There are circumstances existing in relation to some of them, which leave the irresistible presumption upon the mind that they were hired, at a heavy expense, to leave their houses and their business, in order that their testimony might not place the reputation, the liberty, and the lives of some members of the fraternity at hazard.

Edward Giddins was told, if he would leave the country to save his friends, any amount of money which he should demand was ready for him, and had been furnished for the express purpose. An extravagant sum was also offered for his property, if he would go, by a mason, who said he was authorized to make the purchase, and that the money had been furnished by the grand lodge for the purpose.

The conduct of masonic witnesses on the stand, after their attendance had been secured, is also worthy of a few remarks. With very few exceptions, they manifested an evident reluctance to testify. In some other cases, they testified with obvious and palpable falsehood. Some of them exercised a species of casuistry, in relation to their judicial oath, which is not a little remarkable. It seems that those implicated had argued themselves into the belief, that there was no greater sin than the breaking of a masonic oath; that if they told the truth in relation to the outrage, they should divulge a secret which they were masonically bound to keep, which would criminate themselves; and that, therefore, their only course was to testify that "they knew nothing about the affair." Strange as is the infatuation manifested by this reasoning, there was not wanting a counsellor of the supreme court, a royal arch mason, to advise them, that if they were implicated in the affair, they might safely swear, that "they knew nothing about it," instead of protecting themselves from answering at all, on the ground that it would criminate themselves. Certain it is, that many witnesses, to whom circumstances almost unerringly pointed, as having a knowledge of, or being implicated in, some portion of the transaction, did come forward, and solemnly make oath, that "they knew nothing about the affair." Some others, who did pretend to give an account of their knowledge of the transaction, testified in such a way, as to leave an impression upon the mind of every auditor, that they had not satisfied that part of their judicial oath, which required them to tell *the whole* truth. No man, who heard the testimony of Hiram Hubbard, Ezra Platt, Solomon C. Wright, and some others, could believe for a moment, even from their own statements, that they had disclosed all they knew of the affair. The evidence that was extracted from witnesses of this character, was absolutely wrung from them, so reluctant did they appear to disclose. Witnesses, in several instances, came into court with their own counsel, a circumstance unheard of in courts of justice before, to advise with them what questions they were legally bound to answer. They would frequently refuse decidedly to answer a question, even after its propriety had been argued by their own counsel, and decided by the court, and continue in such contumacious conduct until the order was made out for their commitment, and then their firmness would give way, and a reluctant answer would be forced from them. Some of them, of more determination of purpose, or having more important secrets to conceal, stood out in their refusal to answer until the last. In March, 1829, Isaac Allen refused to answer a question, before the grand jury of Monroe county; the jury reported him to the court, which determined, after solemn argument, that the witness could not protect himself from answering the question. He, however, still refused, and was committed for the contempt. In June, 1829, Eli Bruce was taken before the grand jury of Genesee county, on a habeas corpus, as a witness, and he refused to be sworn. At a special circuit, held in June last, at Lockport, in Niagara county, Orsamus Turner was called as a witness, on the trial of Ezekiel Jewett, the keeper of fort Niagara at the time of Morgan's confinement there. The three following questions were successively put to Turner, as a witness: "Was the defendant one of the persons consulted with, in relation to separating Morgan from his friends at Batavia, as a means of suppressing the contemplated publication of a book concerning the secret of freemasonry?" "Do you know that the defendant, Ezekiel Jewett, was applied to for a place, in or about fort Niagara, for the purpose of confining William Morgan?" "Was you ever present when the subject of preparing a place at fort Niagara, or at any other place within the county of Niagara, for the confinement of Morgan, was discussed in presence of defendant?" He successively refused to answer these questions; and he was sentenced, for this contumacious conduct, for the first contempt, to thirty days imprisonment, and $250 fine, and for the two last, to thirty days imprisonment, for each contempt.

On the same trial, Eli Bruce and John Whitney, were called as witnesses, and successively refused to be sworn. Bruce was sentenced to thirty days imprisonment, for this contempt; and Whitney to the like imprisonment, and also to pay a fine of $250. These individuals, are all liable under the laws of the state of New York,

to be further punished for their contempts, after conviction upon an indictment, by imprisonment for one year each, and by a fine of $250. It is evident that no slight cause could have induced them to take this course, and subject themselves to such punishment. All of these witnesses had been tried for the conspiracy, and could not, therefore, be called in question again for *that* offence. No other individuals could be indicted thereafter, for any lesser offence than murder, as the statute of limitations had then barred prosecutions for any other offences connected with the Morgan outrage. It would seem as if the fraternity had set down, and coolly counted the cost of the matter; and had come to the determination, that it was wise to shut the door completely against the bare chance of establishing the murder of Morgan, by any facts or inferences to be derived from their testimony, even though it should be done at the expense of the liberty and property of some of its members. In these instances, the power of the fraternity came into collision with the laws of the land in a most marked manner, and set them, and their penal requirements at defiance, and prevailed in the conflict. The laws were seen to be impotent against a power so secret, so murderous, and so overwhelming.

Public officers, who owned the power of the masonic obligations, have been found wanting in their duty, as officers, in relation to prosecutions connected with this outrage. One honourable exception, however, exists, in the case of Bowen Whiting, Esq. district attorney of Ontario county, who, though a freemason, has fearlessly, honestly, and effectively, discharged his public duties, and given his best exertions with considerable success, to bring the offenders to punishment. With this exception, no assistance whatever has been given during the whole course of the investigation, by any adhering member of the masonic fraternity, in aid of the purposes of justice; on the contrary, individual masons, not particularly implicated in the transaction, have interposed every obstacle in their power, to prevent the developement of truth. Indeed it was apparent to every one, that freemasons, both collectively and individually, were decidedly opposed to any investigation of the outrages, and determined to suppress inquiry, if any effort of theirs could suppress it. Purses have been liberally opened, exertions have been freely given, to prevent convictions, to enable offenders to elude justice, and to aid in the removal and concealment of important witnesses. Though several of the conspirators have been convicted by an impartial jury of their country, and some of them have even confessed their guilt, yet not a single one of them has been subjected to even a masonic censure. On the contrary, most of the conspirators have received the marked countenance and support of the order, been protected by its funds, and shared largely in its sympathies and in its patronage; and even some of them, after their agency in the conspiracy, had been generally known, and publicly proven, have been raised to a still higher rank in the honours of the institution, as a reward, avowed in the case of Eli Bruce, for the very acts which should have consigned them to infamy and punishment. The severity of their punishment has been alleviated in every possible manner, by the sympathy, encouragement, and countenance of their masonic brethren; and the disgrace which usually attends a criminal conviction, has been in a measure averted, by cheering the unfortunate men upon whom it presses, with the idea that it was a martyrdom in the cause of heaven descended freemasonry. Indeed there have not been wanting public papers, which have dared, in the face of abundant proof, to say, that convicted conspirators were honest, upright, innocent, and persecuted men. The Rochester Craftsman, established in the winter of 1829, for the purpose of defending freemasonry, and endorsed by men otherwise honourable and respected, grossly libelled the court, jury and counsel, by whom Eli Bruce and John Whitney were convicted, and boldly asserted that they were honest and innocent men, who had fallen victims to the prejudices of the times. For this libel, its editor was convicted and punished; but he set at defiance the laws, and still persisted in the charges for which he had been brought to justice. John Whitney, after he had returned from the Southern states, where he had been hiding from justice for many months, was taken under the patronage of the fraternity, courted, cheered and sustained by them, and placed in the way of a lucrative and profitable business. After his release from the imprisonment to which he was consigned by the laws of his country, he was received at his home with open arms, by the fraternity, and cheered and sustained by their countenance, support and patronage. Orsamus Turner, who was confined in the jail of Niagara county, for contumaciously refusing to answer proper and legal ques-

tions, was lauded in the Craftsman, and other kindred prints, as a miracle of constancy and firmness; and when the period of his imprisonment had expired, he was conducted from the jail to a public tavern, in a coach and four, with enthusiastic demonstrations of respect by the fraternity,

Facts of such a nature exist, as to induce the belief that the fraternity have, by means of the agents of their societies, furnished funds to support individuals convicted of an offence against the laws, to aid those indicted, and in one instance, to enable a suspected member to escape from the punishment of the laws of his own state. Some of those individuals who were first convicted and imprisoned for their participation in these outrages, were, at the time of their imprisonment, known to be in embarrassed circumstances, yet, one of these individuals at least, found means to carry on his business while confined in jail, and at the expiration of his period of confinement, was found to be in better circumstances than at the commencement of his imprisonment. It has been stated, too, by Jarvis F. Hanks, a renouncing mason, that the Jerusalem chapter, of the city of New York, voted $500 for the benefit of the "western sufferers," the mystic name by which those members who were suffering under prosecution, were generally known by the fraternity. It has also been stated, under such circumstances as to induce a belief of its truth, that the grand chapter of the state of New York, at its annual communication, in February, 1827, by a vote of that body, placed at the disposal of their grand scribe, a considerable sum of money. Whether this was done by a vote to increase "the charity fund," or more expressly for the assistance of the "western sufferers," we have not the information to enable us to determine. It is believed that it was understood by every member of the grand chapter then present, that the funds so appropriated were for the purpose of assisting in the defence and the support of the conspirators in the Morgan outrage. It is also understood, that the officer under whose control such funds were placed, expended them for the objects and purposes for which they were appropriated, and made a report at a subsequent communication of the said grand chapter, that he had so expended them. A portion of this money is understood to have been employed in re-imbursing the expenses which individual members had before sustained in the same great object; a portion was paid to some of the conspirators, who had become fugitives from their homes and country, for fear of punishment; and a portion was paid for the support of individuals who had been convicted of a violation of the laws of the land. It has been stated, too, that further sums have been appropriated by the same grand chapter, for similar objects; but the very organization of the grand chapter, bound, as its members are, to secrecy, by oaths of surpassing strength, and guarded, as its sessions are, by naked weapons, would naturally prevent full evidence of its transactions from coming to the knowledge of those not admitted within its guarded walls. The guilty secrets of this mystic body, would hardly pass lips sealed by dreadful oaths, or portals guarded by drawn swords. There is not, therefore, all that precision in relation to those facts which would be desirable; yet it is known from the statement of the officers of the grand chapter themselves, that the expenditures of that body have been greatly increased within the last three years, so much so as to encroach greatly upon the principal of their means. There is reason, also, to believe, that the legislative and executive councils of the state of New York have not been uncontaminated by masonic influence, and that there persons have been lent to throw embarrassment in the way of the conviction of offenders against the laws.

In the winter of 1827, a memorial was presented to the legislature of that state, setting forth the facts of Morgan's abduction and murder, and the difficulties which stood in the way of bringing the perpetrators of that crime to justice, and praying that a committee might be appointed to strengthen the arm of the law. Though the chairman of the committee to whom this memorial was referred, reported in favour of the prayer of the petitioners, yet this report hardly received a decent consideration, and was thrown indignantly among the papers which were considered unworthy of legislative interference. In 1830, a convention representing the anti-masonic interest of the state of New York, presented a memorial to the legislature of that state, praying the appointment of a committee, with power to send for persons and papers, to inquire whether the grand chapter of that state had interfered in the administration of justice, or aided, countenanced, or protected the violators of the laws. Though this memorial preferred heavy charges against the grand chapter, the

falsehood of which, if false they were, might have been disproved, by granting the reference asked, yet the legislature chose to refer it to the attorney general, who possessed no one of the powers necessary to a full and fair investigation of the subject. In the winter of 1829, John C. Spencer, Esq. was appointed by the executive of the state of New York, special counsel to conduct the prosecutions in relation to the Morgan outrages. He was a fearless, efficient, faithful and industrious officer, and entered with honesty, zeal, and energy upon the duties of his appointment. He prosecuted these duties for one year, and made his report to the executive disclosing the results of his investigations. Mr. Spencer was treated in such a manner by the authorities of the state, as to furnish convincing proof, that, in their estimation, he had been too faithful in the discharge of his duties. His confidential communications to the executive in relation to the means to be used in proving the crime of murder, were divulged through the agency of his masonic advisers, as is understood, to the counsel of some of the individuals implicated in the outrage.

These are all the facts which your committee have had time to arrange in relation to the conduct and measures of masons to prevent a conviction of their fellow masons of the crime of the abduction and murder of William Morgan, but they are by no means, all that exist in relation to that subject. If they were all to be noted down, this report would swell to an inconvenient and perhaps unnecessary length. There are a thousand circumstances which have been noted by those who reside on the theatre of the outrage, which though minute and trifling in themselves, and which are, therefore, almost impossible to be communicated to others, yet have contributed to produce an impression, that the fraternity, both collectively and individually, have been strongly opposed to any investigation of these high handed offences against the laws. The taunts, the sneers, and the ridicule of some, and the vindictiveness, the malignity, and the threats of others, have gone into the account, to create a belief that the fraternity generally, with very few exceptions, have done all in their power to avert punishment from the heads of their offending brethren. Your committee submit this report of facts without a single comment, and will feel satisfied if any man, or number of men will be induced by it, to inquire into the nature of an institution whose principles your committee believe, authorized the commission of an outrage upon the liberty and life of a fellow citizen, and prompted its members to use every effort to avert the just intervention of the laws from the heads of the offenders.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Ward, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed to inquire *when, where, and for what purpose freemasonry was first instituted? What has been its progress? Where has it flourished most? And what is now the probable number of the fraternity?*

Respectfully report,

WHEN AND WHERE FREEMASONRY ORIGINATED.

The origin of an earthly thing, does not always determine its character: but when the pride of birth, and the boast of an illustrious ancestry are assumed by a foundling, the assumption affects the character of the bantling, and proves it to be destitute both of virtue and truth.

Freemasonry originated in England.

Elias Ashmole, the last of the Rosicrucians and Alchymists, was admitted to *the freedom* of the *operative* masons' *company*, in London, A.D. 1646, and died, 1692.(a)

Robert Plot, LL.D. *Ashmole's* librarian, speaks in his Natural History of Staffordshire, "*of a custom of admitting men into the society of freemasons*;" also, "*of a parchment volume, containing the history and rules of the craft of masonry*;" and, also, of their secrets, "*that none know but themselves, which I have reason to suspect*," he says, "are, perhaps, as bad as *this mystery of the craft itself, than which there is nothing I ever met with more false and incoherent.*" (b)

Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, written and published between 1666, and 1696, we have not been able to obtain; but should the above extracts from a masonic book, prove to be correct, it contains the earliest printed mention of masonic secrets within our knowledge. Neither Shakespeare nor Butler make any allusion to freemasonry; the writers neither of romance nor of song, name it in any work of the 17th century, with which we are acquainted; nor Milton, nor Dryden, nor Addison.

Freemasonry left its embryo state, in the Apple-tree Tavern, Charles-street, Covent Garden, London, and there assumed a regular form, on the 24th day of June, A. D. 1717, when the brethren of "*the only four lodges in the south of England*," elected *Mr. Anthony Sayer*, by a majority of hands, first grand master of masons. (c) This grand lodge claims the acknowledgment of its supremacy, by the whole body of the fraternity throughout the earth. (d) To this same grand lodge, and to those which have sprung up at York, Kilwinning, and Edinburgh, in imitation of it, we are able, by the help of masonic writers, to trace every particle of freemasonry now scattered over the four quarters of the earth. (e) The name, *Franche-maconerie*, on the continent of Europe, preserves the idiom of the English language, at the expense of a gross violation of propriety in French. (f) And finally, the grand lodge of England by treaty with the grand lodge of Germany, dated Berlin, October 20, and London, November 30, 1773, confirmed to the several grand masters of different German states, the rights already granted, and bestowed all the remaining states upon the aforesaid grand lodge of Germany in consideration of £25 sterling, to be paid annually. (g)

FOR WHAT PURPOSE WAS FREEMASONRY INSTITUTED?

Freemasonry was instituted *to dupe the simple for the benefit of the crafty*. The

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(a) Bio. Brit.

(b) Freemason's Pocket Companion, p. 192.

(c) Anderson's Constitutions, 2d. Ed. p. 109. Preston, Richard's Ed. p. 167. *Smith. Lawrie, Scott*, and others.

(d) See the Latin inscription on plate put beneath the corner stone of Freemason's Hall, London, A.D. 1775, as recorded by Preston, p. 310. Smith, p. 83.

(e) Anderson, Scott, Smith, Preston, Robison, and others.

(f) Essais sur la Franche-masonerie. Par J. L. Laurens.

(g) See the treaty in *Smith's octavo* of Masonry. p. 188.

object it has steadily pursued, until its members have attained to mitres and crowns of masonry; and also to a political influence corresponding with their claims to imperial power.

WHAT HAS BEEN ITS PROGRESS?

John Montague, duke of Montague, was chosen first noble grand master of masons, A. D. 1721. (a) *Anderson's "Constitutions of Masonry,"* the first printed document of the fraternity, appeared A. D. 1723. (a) Thus nearly 300 years elapsed from the discovery of the art of printing, before this self styled *most ancient and honourable fraternity* added one work to the literature of the world. About this time, both Pope (b) and Swift (c) name freemasonry in terms of unqualified contempt. In 1726, provincial grand masters were first appointed, by whom freemasonry was carried to the different counties of England, to North and South Wales, and to Gibraltar; and so around the globe. (d) October 13th, 1730, it was disclosed, published, and sworn to, by SAMUEL PRICHARD, (e) an irreproachable citizen of London. (f) It was first planted in America, at Boston, A. D. 1733; at Charleston, S. C. and at Cape Coast, in Africa, and in the grand lodge of Scotland, A. D. 1736. (g) It was proscribed in 1735, by the republic of Holland, (h) where it had been introduced by the Earl of Chesterfield, (i) in 1728. It was proscribed in France, 1737; in Italy, and by the Pope, 1738; and in the republic of Switzerland, in 1745. (k)

The masons of Lyons, in France, partizans of Andrew Michael Ramsay, invented the order of *kadosch templar* (l) A. D. 1743; hence sprung the *elect of nine, of fifteen, perfect masons, et cetera.* In 1747, *Ch. Ed. Stuart*, son of the *Pretender*, received many favours of the masons at Arras, in France, and in return, gave them a warrant for holding a chapter, and called it the *Scotch Jacobite.* (m) This chapter was afterwards removed to Paris, with the name of *chapitre d'Arras*, and is the germ of royal arch masonry, which now modestly dates from the time of *Zerubbabel.*

Freemasonry of three degrees, was thus disseminated over the civilized world; and the degrees of *perfection* were commenced previous to the middle of the last century. To trace the progress of the mystery in all countries, and in all its different rites, is needless. The origin of the *Scotch Lodge*, of France, is found in *La mere loge de St. Jean d'Ecosse*, instituted at Marseilles, A. D. 1751. Hence sprang the Scotch masonry of Mexico, and of the world. In 1754, the *Chevalier de Bonneville* instituted a chapter of the high degrees, from which the German Baron, *Hund*, took the rite called *strict observance. Martinez Pascalis* invented the order of *elect priests*, from which sprang the *Martinists* of the French Revolution. In 1756, "*the grand lodge of France*" first took its name, having previously styled itself, "the grand *English Lodge* of France." Precis Hist. vol. 1, p. 37.

In 1758, at Paris, was established the first *Council of Emperors of the East and West, Sovereign Princes, Freemasons!* Among the founders of this dynasty, we find the names of *Lacorne le maitre de danse, and Pirlet, le tailleur d'habits:* in plain English, a dancing master and a tailor.

The sovereigns, by their warrant, dated August 27, 1761, sent *sublime* and *perfect* masonry to the new world, by the hand of *Stephen Morin*, a Jew; *Morin* planted it in the West Indies; and a council at Kingston, in Jamaica, gave it to *Henry Andrew Franken. Franken*, by a patent, dated 6 December, 1778, gave it to *Moses Michael Hayes*, a Jew, afterwards grand master of Massachusetts; *Hayes*

(a) Anderson's Constitutions of Masonry.
(b) Pope's Letters. Vol. 2d.
(c) A Letter from the grand mistress of female freemasons, to Geo. Faulkner, printer. Swift's Works. Vol. 12, p. 331.
(d) Scott, Preston, and Anderson.
(e) Masonry Dissected. By Samuel Prichard.
(f) Anderson's Constitutions. 2d Ed.
(g) Anderson, Scott, Smith, and Preston.
(h) Smith, p. 193.
(i) Anderson's Constitutions, p. 112, and 129, connected with Lord Chesterfield's embassy to Hague, and the Current History of Masonry.
(k) Smith, Scott, and Lawrie.
(l) Robison. New York Ed. p. 44. Precis Historique. Vol. 1. p. 32.
(m) Precis Historique, and Esprit Du Dogma, p. 182

gave it to *Spitzer*, of Charleston, S. C. and there the heirs of *Lacorne and Pirlet* now sway the sceptre of freemasonry, "*under the celestial canopy of the zenith*," over "*both hemispheres*." (a)

WHERE FREEMASONRY HAS FLOURISHED MOST.

Russia. Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Rome, make freemasonry a capital offence. There is no crime in the mummery to die for under the gallows; the offence lies in the political use made of freemasonry, dangerous to all governments. The sovereigns of France, England, Prussia, Netherlands, Sweden, and Brazil, take the fraternity under the royal guardianship. This is not because their majesties love the farce of the lodge-room, but they fear its political tendency.

Great Britain has pursued both the restrictive and the protective course at the same time. While the late king was heir apparent to the throne, he was made grand master of masons; and the parliament forbade the increase of the number of lodges in the three kingdoms; and also forbade the adoption of any degrees, except only the first three in masonry. The statute bears date 39th year of George III. and is now in force.

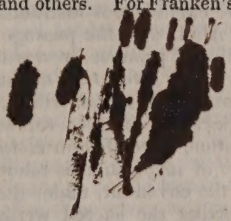
The only countries in which freemasonry flourishes, neither forbidden nor restrained, are the republics of North America. Here the growth is without a parallel; (except in France, during the last years of Louis XVI.) a growth honourable to the freedom, but dangerous to the stability of our public institutions.

CONCLUSION.

——"Out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies, and voices sweet,
Built like a temple."—*Milton's description of* PANDEMONIUM.

The corner stone was laid at London, on mechanics' holiday, A. D. 1717; thirty to forty stories have since been erected, and some towers have been raised to the fearful height of ninety, and even one hundred and twenty *degrees:* the walls are living men of all christendom, to the number of a million, 100,000 of whom are in this country, bound together by ties upon their fame, their life, and the future salvation of their souls. It has a ritual, an altar, a priesthood, and worshippers. It is an unhallowed temple, whose votaries are admitted, in attire for a gallows. It has a government, and laws, an empire, and crowned heads, and a book of constitutions and a sword. It is the temple of tyranny, where young men swear fealty to an unknown prince. It is a refuge of lies; neither truth, nor righteousness, nor patriotism will suffer it longer to defile the earth.

(a) Precis His. Dalcho's Orations and others. For Franken's commission to Hayes, see the Providence Free Press, Vol. I. No. 2.



ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Oliver, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, made a Report as follows:

The Committee appointed by the United States Anti-Masonic Convention, to examine into the character of freemasonry, and to inquire how far its pretensions have been supported by facts, respectfully submit the following Report:

Before entering upon the duties of their appointment, your Committee were fully aware that this subject would require a more elaborate discussion, than the limited time of the sitting of this Convention would afford; they have, therefore, thought proper to present no more than a brief outline of the most prominent pretensions and practices of freemasonry, as they are now exposed to the world.

If we allow its own standard authors the privilege of answering for the institution, "it claims to be an association of divine origin, emanating from, and communicated by the Deity himself to Adam, and through him to Enoch, Methuselah, and Noah, and thus to the succeeding ages of the world, to Solomon, and the Prophets and Apostles, down to the sovereign pontiffs, princes, and potentates of the earth; and to all the subsequently initiated members of their mystical order, to the present day."

But when we consult the pages of ancient history, both sacred and profane, there is not the least trace or allusion to any such organized society, anterior to the eighteenth century; at which period, viz. anno domini, 1717, modern history informs us that this fraternity held their first meeting in the city of London; and subsequently, in the year 1723, they published their first book of constitutions. Consequently all its pretensions to an ancient origin, are founded on mere tradition, which, of all evidence, is the most vague and inconclusive. As a proof of this assertion, we appeal to the sacred history; and by a comparison of events with their respective dates, we find the masonic traditions confounding and blending distinct and separate periods of time, comprising an interval of several hundred years, and quoting the sayings of some of the inspired writers long before they had an existence! Numerous instances of perverting the sacred text might be cited; but for the sake of brevity, we shall name but few to show the fact. In the ceremony of the mark masters' degree in masonry, the candidate is instructed respecting the curious *white key stone*, prepared by Hiram Abiff, and the passage from the Apocalypse is made to apply to this circumstance and promised reward to the faithful masonic brethren. "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving him that receiveth it;" and the lecturer continues, representing this *key stone*, covered with hieroglyphics, as the very stone alluded to in *Holy Writ!!* Again, in the royal arch degree, the same language of inspiration is made to apply to the pretended pot of manna found in the ark of the covenant, under the ruins of the old temple at Jerusalem; thus impiously perverting the sacred writings, to support the insipid traditions of the order. And again, in settling the pretended difficulty among the craft about their wages, Solomon is made to speak the words of our Saviour, not uttered until a thousand years afterwards, in his parable of the husbandman to his hired servants: "Friend, I do thee no wrong; didst thou not agree to work for a penny a day." Many of the fraternity have never examined into the truth or falsity of these traditions, being disposed to give implicit assent to their correctness, or passing them by as matter of indifference; but if they will seriously consider these incongruities in connection with other impositions and falsities practised upon their credulity, they will discover that the whole system is a tissue of falsehood and deception. Speculative freemasonry has ever pretended to impart to its recipients very important secrets in *morality, philosophy*, and *science;* and many of the reverend clergy have declared, that they joined the institution with the view of improving themselves in the principles of morality. How far these have been instructed in the way of salva-

tion, let their own consciences decide. Elder David Bernard, whose expositions of this mystery of iniquity entitle him to the character of a public benefactor, thus describes his own views of the institution: "Wishing to avail myself of every auxiliary in promoting the glory of God, and the happiness of my fellow men, I readily received the three first degrees. My disappointment none can know, but those who have, in similar circumstances, been led into the same path of folly and sin. I silently retired from the institution, and for three years was hardly known as a mason. Not being able to advocate its cause from the knowledge I had derived of its principles, and supposing the obligations I had received were morally binding, I could say neither pro nor con concerning it, without a violation of my conscience. With these views, I embraced an offer to advance into the higher orders of mysticism, and reached forward to attain the desired end. In the reception of the chaptoral degrees, my embarrasment increased. When I came to the oath of the royal arch mason, which obligates to deliver a companion, "*right or wrong*," I made a full stop, and objected to proceeding. I was then assured in the most positive terms, that all would in the end be explained to my full satisfaction. But no such explanation ever took place."

Here is high authority for denouncing the institution as altogether false in its pretensions, to which might be added the testimony of hundreds of others of equal credibility. Of its scientific pretensions, the Hon. Cadwalader D. Colden, of New York, another seceding mason, thus observes: "that all the science ever taught in the lodge, may be comprised in the few following words, viz. that the sun rises in the East, and sets in the West; that the sun rules the day, and the moon rules the night!!" It would require a volume to record the testimony of all those who have discovered the false pretensions of freemasonry, and who have denounced the institution as unworthy to exist in a land of freedom; but the design of the present report being to present the most prominent objections in a condensed form, we pass on to give some other reasons for warning our fellow men to shun its dangerous snares.

Another of its hollow pretences is found in the declaration "that one of its principal objects is to distribute and dispense its funds to charitable purposes;" but by a reference to its own records, it may be seen that the amount of the funds thus distributed, does not exceed the gratuitous distributions of other men who have no connexion with their secret order; and that a very large amount of the initiation fees received, are expended in the frivolous decorations of their persons and lodge rooms, and their festivities and funeral ceremonies. From the examination of the records of St. John's Lodge, in the city of Boston, commencing in the year 1780, now in the possession of a member of this convention, it appears that the amount of their charitable distributions in eighteen years, was $35 76; while the aggregate amount of the receipts and expenditures for the same time, exceeded the sum of $1800!

Freemasonry professes unbounded charity, by holding fellowship with all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people; and pretends to embrace in christian love both Jew and christian, Mahomedan and infidel, who are all taught to reverence and adore the great supreme in undivided, undistinguished unity; yet the Jew can reject the doctrine of christianity, and the Mahomedan deny the scriptures altogether, and the infidel ridicule the existence of a God, and all meet together upon the great *square and level* of masonry, and receive instruction from this boasted hand maid of religion! The same oaths are administered to all, and the same pretended pious lectures are *mysteriously* adapted to all its followers! Many young divines have been induced, (from its claiming to be the handmaid of religion,) when about to leave their native country, to offer themselves as candidates for masonry, with a view to enlarge their understanding of moral and religious subjects, and secure for themselves an easier passport to the wise and good of foreign nations. But the sum and substance of all its pretensions to a religious character, according to the testimony of hundreds of those who are now willing to expose the fraud, consists in an artful collection of scripture texts, arranged to correspond to the several degrees, and indiscriminately submitted to believers and unbelievers, as a test of their fidelity to the order! Since the late disclosures of the secret ceremonies of the order, the fraternity have repeatedly affirmed, "that it never was designed that the penalties of their obligations should receive a literal construction; that by repeating the obligation, with the penalty annexed, the candidate merely invoked those tortures if he should wilfully and knowingly violate the obligation." But the whole machinery

of the institution forms a negative to this assertion, which is not in the power of its advocates to remove. The very first conviction that impresses the candidate (when about to be initiated) in seeing an officer guarding the door with a deadly weapon, is the danger to be apprehended from an unlawful intrusion; and at every succeeding step, he is constantly reminded of the penalties of his obligations. In divesting the candidate of nearly all his apparel, he is deprived of the power of escaping with decency; and while he submits to this pretended necessary *preparation*, the sense of shame at his own degradation weakens his resolution to attempt an escape; and if the confessions of seceding masons are sufficient testimony to warrant belief, the previously initiated enjoy the embarrassment of the new candidate as a sort of offset for their own former degradation. The halter, or *cable tow*, and the sharp pointed instrument to the naked breast, are evidently designed to increase the dread of a penalty; while the utter unconsciousness of the scene around him, as his optics are deprived of their ordinary functions by the close drawn bandage, the more readily suggests imaginary evil, which must always produce a mental excitement and alarm. Then the mock assassination of Hiram Abiff, is calculated to impress the mind with the awful consequences of a curiosity to pry into the pretended mystery, and the final sacrifice of the fabled *Jubela*, *Jubelo*, and *Jubelum*, agreeably to their own imprecations, is a convincing proof that the penalties were intended to be literally construed. And all the subsequent oaths and penalties are evidently designed for the same effect; for, as the obligations increase, in the same proportion the penalties are made to increase in barbarous enormity; and it is to these penalties, literally construed, that the institution owes its continuance from its origin to the present day. For without these terrific appendages, such a flagrant imposition upon the credulity of mankind could never have been concealed; therefore it is a preposterous absurdity to assert, that it has adopted a form of words without a significant meaning, for on *their* literal import has depended its very existence!!

In conclusion, it may now be safely affirmed, that SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY has, by its gaudy trappings and false pretensions, allured the feet of the credulous and unwary into its toils, promising to impart important secrets, which no one has ever realized; and enjoined the imposition with eternal secrecy, under the pains and penalties of a cruel death!! Such are her pretensions and promises, and thus has she fulfilled them. So will all testify, who have had the courage and magnanimity to burst her bonds, and honestly confess the truth.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Morris, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee to whom was referred the examination of the evidence, as to the truth of the disclosures contained in a work published by Elder David Bernard, entitled "*Light on Masonry*," report,

That the abduction and murder of Morgan by the masonic fraternity, for the alleged crime of revealing the lower degrees of masonry, is ample confirmation of the truth of those degrees, as contained in Elder Bernard's book. The evidence furnished by this fact, must be conclusive as against the institution of masonry, because there could be no other possible pretence for the infliction of masonic vengeance upon its victim, than his disclosure of the secrets of the order. If the murder of Morgan was not resorted to, as the means of either preventing or punishing the revelation of secrets deemed by their professors of the highest importance, it was an act of atrocious barbarity, without motive or the pretext of justification. The masonic fraternity have, therefore, stamped upon Morgan's disclosures the impress of martyrdom, and sealed his testimony with the blood of their victim.

The evidence to the truth of these disclosures, furnished by seceders from the institution, is, in the judgment of the Committee, entitled to full credit. The character of the witnesses in point of intelligence, integrity, and veracity, their means of knowing the facts, the total absence of every inducement to falsify those facts, the perfect ease with which their disclosures, if false, can be refuted, and the facility of effecting their conviction of perjury, in those cases where their disclosures have been supported by their oaths in judicial proceedings, forbid the supposition that their disclosures are not true. In the state of New York, a considerable number of the seceders are clergymen of different denominations, whose constitutional interdict from holding offices, furnishes an effectual refutation of the allegation so generally and so falsely circulated, that political power is the object of the opponents of masonry. The intelligence, virtue, and piety of these gentlemen can leave no doubt, that the most imperative sense of duty to their God and their country prompted their secession from the order, and their disclosure of its secrets. That spirit of masonic malice, "*whose heart coins slanders like a mint*," has sought to invalidate the testimony of the seceders, imputing to them the commission of moral perjury. The intelligence of the age in which we live, requires no laboured exposition of the proposition, equally sanctioned by ethics and by law, that oaths extrajudicially administered, dictated like those of masonry by force or fraud, and directly conflicting with the paramount duties of the citizen to his God and his country, are neither legally nor morally obligatory. The faithful and literal performance of the sworn obligation of the brethren of the mystic tie, to mark the seceder as an object of masonic vengeance, to asperse his character, defame his reputation, derange his business, and point him out to the world as a vicious and unworthy vagabond, is a volume of masonic testimony to the truth of the disclosures made by the seceders.

In corroboration of the other evidence of the truth of these disclosures, the Committee deem it not unimportant to advert to the fact, that in this free republic, where every subject human and divine is by the nature of our institutions subjected to the ordeal of public discussion; freemasonry alone is attempted to be an exception to the general rule, and its all-powerful influence is exerted to muzzle the press, to gag the orator, to obstruct or incommode the assemblage of conventions, to prevent examination of its claims, and stifle all inquiry into its principles and practices. Freemasonry, alone, of all the subjects which affect our rights and duties here, and our accountabilities hereafter, denies the control of public sentiment, and defies the tribunal of public opinion.

The truth of many of the facts disclosed in the work entitled "*Light on Masonry*," rests not, however, solely upon the testimony to which the Committee have as yet adverted. The records of the courts of justice furnish evidence upon this subject, which sophistry cannot pervert, prevarication evade, or impudence deny. It is judicial evidence upon the very fact in question. In Judge Gardiner's report, made to the senate of the state of New York, pursuant to their resolution, of the testimony taken before him upon the trial of Elihu Mather, the obligations and oaths assumed by members of the fraternity upon their admission, and particularly those of the royal arch degree, binding the member to extricate a brother from difficulty right or wrong, are confirmed and established by the testimony of members of the masonic order, not seceders, who were yet attached to, and presiding in the lodges, and who stated upon their oaths these obligations in the terms and nearly the words, in which they are divulged in the work in question. In various trials before magistrates in the state of New York, in suits prosecuted for alleged infractions of the statute, prohibiting juggling and shows, against persons professing to exhibit the ceremonies attendant on the admission of masons, members of the order, yet attached to the lodges, of unblemished reputations, and one of them a member of the present Congress, testified that the mode and manner of initiating members, and the oaths taken by themselves and by others on admission, were the same as set forth by Elder Bernard.

Other trials in the same state, one of which being upon a promissory note for the initiation fee on admission into a lodge, the defence to which consisting in the want of consideration, distinctly presented the inquiry into the truth of the disclosure of masonic secrets, furnished indisputable judicial evidence, that the rights and ceremonies, the oaths and obligations of the lodges were correctly detailed.

The Committee are unanimously of opinion, that the evidence extrinsic and intrinsic, direct and collateral, positive and circumstantial, is such as can leave no doubt on the mind of any rational man, that the disclosures contained in the work, entitled "*Light on Masonry*," particularly in regard to the degrees in use in this country, are authentic and unquestionable.

LETTER FROM ELDER N. N. WHITING TO ELDER DAVID BERNARD, APPENDED TO THE FOREGOING REPORT BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

Vernon, Oneida County, N. Y. September 7, 1830.

Elder D. Bernard,

Influenced, as I humbly trust, by a sense of the duty which I owe to the friends of truth and the happiness of mankind, I hereby certify, that the various masonic degrees contained in the list below, and published by you in the work entitled "Light on Masonry," are genuine and authentic, and may be relied on as such by the world. I farther certify, that the degrees from that of knight of the East and West, to that of Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret inclusive, were conferred on me and several others informally, that is, without the use of the various ceremonies detailed in those degrees as published; that a simple obligation of secrecy being administered, we were left to learn the nature and tendency of those degrees from the manuscripts in which they were contained; that this mode of conferring the degrees is a regular one, when there is no organized consistory for the Sublime Degrees. I farther certify, that an agent of the Supreme Council of Sovereign Grand Inspectors General, (which Council has its place of meeting in Charleston, S. C.) was employed to communicate the Sublime Degrees to an officer of high masonic rank in the state of New York, and that through *that* officer said degrees have been conferred on various persons residing in said state.

List of Degrees referred to above.

Secret Master,	Illustrious Knight,
Perfect Master,	Grand Master Architect,
Intimate Secretary,	Knight of 9th Arch.
Provost and Judge,	G. E. and S. Mason,
Intendant of the Buildings,	Knight of the E. and W.
Elected Knights of Nine,	Sov. Prince of Rose-Croix,
Elected Grand Master,	Grand Pontiff.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Taylor, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed to inquire what has been the influence of freemasonry upon the public press; and whether it be expedient for this convention to adopt any measures in relation thereto, respectfully report,

That the result of their inquiries presents a state of the press, alike discreditable to its character, and alarming to all who love the liberties and the independence of their country.

As nearly as your Committee have been able to ascertain, there are published in all the states, an aggregate of 983 newspapers.

These have divided themselves into three distinct classes. The first consists of those which have issued from the press since the year 1826, founded exclusively upon the principle of opposition to freemasonry, or so conducted, comprising 124 of the above number; of which are published in the state of Pennsylvania 53; New York 46; Connecticut 2; Rhode Island 1; Massachusetts 5; Vermont 4; New Jersey 2, Ohio 9; Indiana 1; and 1 in the territory of Michigan.

These have been established by the zeal, and supported by the liberal contributions of the middling and unambitious classes of society; with no motive but the attainment and dissemination of those alarming truths, which they had sought for in vain, through the ordinary channels of intelligence. These publications have been principally commenced since the murder of Morgan; and they have been met at the threshold, by the hostility of that fraternity, which has hitherto controlled as with an iron sceptre, every interest which they have not deemed beneath their notice.

Against a combination, whose hands have not refused to wield the weapons of dishonourable warfare, and labouring under every possible disadvantage, this Spartan band has contended with a zeal and steady perseverance, which indicate that the patriotism of the heroes of '76, still animates with undiminished fervour, the breasts of many of their offspring.

The next class of periodical publications, consists of such as have been founded exclusively upon masonic principles, and are sustained by masonic patronage. These were established and are conducted in the strictest accordance with that law of illuminism which is given by Weishaupt in these words, "newspapers and *reviews* must be established to *calumniate* every influential man, who cannot be brought over to our party." They live in an atmosphere of falsehood; and like the unclean beast which fattens upon the poisonous vapours of its own dungeon, draw their nutriment from the calumny of the best and purest; and when summoned to the bar of public justice, they go forth convicted libellers, glorying in their shame.

The third class comprehends all those, with a few honourable exceptions, which were in successful operation, not exclusively masonic, when Morgan's illustrations of masonry were first suffered to behold the light.

These papers scattered through the whole extent of our country, ushered from a thousand presses, daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, and professing to give the minutest intelligence upon every subject of general or limited interest; the constant inmate of every home; the daily visitant of every fireside; have acquired an influence as absolute as the laws of our land, and as wide as the country which we inhabit. To meet the spirit of inquiry, the caterers for the press, are unwearied in their efforts. They draw their supplies from every quarter of the globe; they eagerly lay hold of every occurrence, foreign or domestic, trivial or important, and send it forth, to gratify the cravings of the public curiosity. In these efforts to give interest to the publications of the day, no industry is spared; no topic is beneath their notice; but the broad fields of fiction, of politics, of science, of the arts and of religion are ransacked; and having explored them all, and gathered every palatable fruit, these indefatigable men, like the daughter of the horseleech, are unsatisfied still.

An ordinary murder, in which a solitary individual was implicated, has rung through all our papers, for months together: and the illegal detention of a foreigner, an alleged defaulter, has set whole cities in a flame. This was indeed the indication of a blessed spirit; for it proves that our citizens know the value of liberty and law, and are jealous of the slightest infringement of them. But an American citizen was outrageously kidnapped and torn from his family, confined in a dungeon, transported through a thickly settled country, and murdered under circumstances of the most cold blooded barbarity, and these same presses are silent as the grave. He who could compass sea and land to gather news, seemed to have forgotten his occupation; and that "blessed spirit" which burst forth like the flames of a volcano, because the laws had been violated in the person of an alleged swindler, gave no signs of life. In the region where this outrage had been perpetrated, the criminal apathy or connivance of the conductors of the press, alarmed the people: they arose in their might and established independent papers, through which the truth has been fearlessly disseminated, in defiance of the threats and calumnies of that all-powerful institution. Without the aid of these presses, the mass of the people in New York and Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Vermont, would at this moment, have been ignorant that William Morgan ever lived. Nay, after crowds of witnesses have proved his murder, by circumstances amounting to certainty; after adhering masons have trampled upon the authority of our courts of justice; have defied the power of heaven and earth, and alleged as their only excuse, that the truth would implicate themselves in the bloody deed; there are still thousands in our land, and men too of intelligence and virtue, who believe that the story of that murder is all a fiction.

Why is this? Why is it, that among our intelligent population such gross and disgraceful ignorance prevails? It is because the public press is palsied by a power unseen, and controlled by an influence of unlimited operation. Through the medium of the press the public mind has been poisoned, so that none, however elevated, can express a just indignation against the perpetrators of a horrid crime, or against the institution, which justifies and protects the criminal, without the risk of being denounced as a fanatic, or a fool, or a designing man.

Your Committee are aware that some of them have been driven by dire necessity to adopt a course, at which their better feelings revolt.

But in view of all the facts, the Committee are constrained to say, that in their opinion, the conductors of the press, who have made themselves voluntarily obnoxious to the charge of suppressing intelligence intensely interesting to the American people; of refusing to sound the alarm, when liberty has been invaded, our laws trampled in the dust, and life wantonly sacrificed; who have systematically insulted the memory of the dead, and calumniated the living; who have wielded their mighty power at the will of a secret and corrupt combination, and have used their influence to pervert the truth and mislead the public mind; who have shown themselves willing rather to jeopard our dearest interests, than to risk the loss of patronage or incur the enmity of freemasonry; have proved faithless "sentinels upon the watch-towers of liberty;" and unworthy the confidence of those who justly value the dear bought privileges of American citizens.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Hopkins, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee to whom it was referred, "to take into consideration the true nature of masonic oaths or obligations, and to report whether they are, or are not, religiously, morally, or legally binding; and whether they are, or are not, in collision with the higher obligations of allegiance and duty, which every good citizen is under, to support the constitution and laws of his country," respectfully report:

That the terms of this reference, being general, embrace all masonic obligations whatever. In the application of the subject to the oaths as revealed, it appears to the committee, that the matter of those oaths may properly come under the following considerations, namely: 1st. Of oaths which respect matters merely frivolous. 2d. Of those, if any there be, which respect matters entirely lawful and proper, and not unimportant. 3d. Of those, which by their natural tendency and operation are hostile to social order, good manners, or equal right, but without requiring any specific offence. 4th. Of those, which are directly illegal, whether that illegality is expressed in terms, or is afterwards deduced, as an unexpected consequence. Illegality in oaths may be of many different kinds: the object of them may be either directly criminal, or they may lead to breaches of prior duty, obligation or contract, or of political allegiance. Respecting all these, the inquiry is, whether they are religiously, morally, or legally binding.

And first, as to their legal obligation, the committee report; that none of these being oaths authorized or required for any purpose known to the laws, they are not legally binding in any possible case (a). The remaining questions concern their obligation in conscience.

An oath is defined by moral writers as an act of religion (b), by which the affirmant appeals to the Supreme Being, to witness the truth of what he affirms to be true, or his fidelity in the performance of that, which he promises to perform. Such a transaction presupposes the infirmity of all human sanctions. It applies to the thoughts and intents of the heart; and therefore it appeals to him who knows them. It presupposes also, that the being who is appealed to, is both able and disposed to punish perjury. The universal adoption of oaths, by all nations, to sanction such public and solemn engagements as the laws cannot sufficiently reach; such, for example, as fidelity to governments, the observance of treaties, and truth in giving testimony, is a proof, that a sense of the sanctity of oaths, is deeply graven upon the heart of man. Grotius observes, that in every nation, and in every age, an oath has always been of the greatest weight in promises, contracts, and agreements (c). If the use of solemn oaths is found thus universal, and thus necessary to man, in his

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(a) See opinion of Marcey, J. in The People vs. Jewett, at Lockport, 1830.

(b) They all seem to follow Cicero's definition in the third book De Officiis: Est enim jusjurandum affirmatio religiosa; quod autem affirmate, quasi Deo teste, promisseris, id tenendum est. See also Grotius de Jure Bel. et Pac. Lib. II. Cap. XIII.

Puffendorf. Droit de la Nat. Lib. IV. Chap. I.

Domat's civil law. Book III. Tit. 6. §. 6.

Paley's Moral Philosophy, Book III. Chap. XVI.

Rutherforth's Institutes, ch. xiv.

Opinion of Trott, afterwards Ch. Just. of South Carolina, under the colonial government in 1. Hall's Law Journal, p. 2. The precise definition in the text above, is rather gathered from all, than copied from any one.

(c) In the chapter before cited. In this chapter he has collected a great number of examples to show the reverence of almost all nations for oaths. But Barbeyrac, in his notes on Puffendorf, says, that the Peruvians used no oath, but a simple averment before the Inca. He cites Garcilaço de Vega for this fact, in his history of the Incas.

social condition; and if it is past doubt, that "there is a God who governs the world," and has planned the existence of social order, then we arrive, even without the aid of revelation, to the conclusion, that the use of oaths is a part of the divine economy, and that the breach of them will be a subject of special punishment.

The Committee, thus quoting the authority of the most distinguished guides in the philosophy of morals, wish to repeat the remark, that they all, both Pagan and Christian, speak in effect of an oath, as "an act of religion." The Committee submit, therefore, that they have properly referred to the great principle of religious obligation, though reporting to a body, whose members may be supposed to differ much in their particular creeds. The very terms in which this subject is referred, embrace the moral and religious bearings of the question. The resolution treats the subject as a question of conscience; and questions of conscience can have little meaning, except as they regard the responsibility of man to his final judge.

A farther explanation may seem to be called for. Now, that divisions exist, and excitement operates, regarding the merits of freemasonry, the mere unsupported conclusions of this Committee or this Convention, adopted upon recent views of the question, might fail, perhaps justly, to command universal confidence. This has induced the Committee to have much recourse to authorities, whether sacred or profane; and they mean not to advance any important proposition in morals, without the most ample support of the inspired, or of the wise and good, who wrote before freemasonry existed.

An oath, then, is truly a transaction between man on one part, and his Almighty Judge on the other. It is a transaction in which, according to the general economy of divine Providence, the special power of that Judge is called into exercise, to give effect to such necessary and important engagements of men, as can, in no other manner, receive a sufficient guaranty(a).

All these principles apply to lawful oaths, taken for some useful and important purpose. But the first question now to be considered, regards those oaths which are for objects merely trifling or worthless. If the position is established, that an oath effectually calls into exercise the avenging power of the Supreme Being, to punish falsehood, (and on any other supposition, all oaths are a fraud and an imposture,) then it follows, that oaths for trifling and vain objects, are a direct act of irreverence towards that power. They are, then, a practical perversion of one of his great engines for the support of human society; and a defiance of that penalty which every oath supposes to be imprecated. In whatever degree an oath for a high and important purpose, is sacred, in that degree, the use of it for any low, base, and worthless object, is a profanation. But the case under consideration, supposes these oaths to be already taken; and the question is, what is the further duty of those who have taken them, and how they may best escape the danger of further offences against conscience.

The Committee have not brought this branch of the subject into view, because it is in itself exceedingly important; but rather, because being obliged to examine a great mass of oaths of very various import, it seemed to be their duty to present the subject in due method; and because the conclusions to be drawn from this branch, will tend to throw light upon others.

If an oath for a vain or worthless purpose, is a transaction with the Supreme Judge, then he is a party to that transaction, *considered as a binding one;* then he is a party, not to punish the trifling, or unlawfulness in taking the oath, but he is a party to see it executed, or to punish the non execution.

But can the power of the God of all worlds, be thus called into operation by the caprice of man, to execute the vain engagements which folly may prompt?

The Committee know of no divine or human authority, for saying that such an engagement, considered strictly as an oath, is binding. Puffendorf, who wrote 100 years before masonry existed, has expressly stated his opinion, that "oaths oblige not when they are absurd and impertinent"(b). Doubtless, they are immoral and

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(a) Un serment n'oblige pas, si Dieu ne l'accepte. Puffendorf as above cited, § VIII. (An oath obliges not, if God does not accept it.)

(b) Car ils (les serments) n'obligent pas, non seulment lorsqu'ils concernent les choses illi cites, mais encore losqu'ils sont absurdes et impertinents. Puffendorf, as above, § X.

most offensive to our God and Judge; but no proof is perceived that He will so punish the offence considered, as a breach of the oath, and because he requires the observance.

A very different question remains, when we consider what is due for reverence to that high and holy name, which we invoke in every lawful oath, and which we profane in every one that is unlawful. No man who has unhappily taken a light oath, will, when his heart becomes better instructed, lightly break it. But still it is not truly an oath: it binds not, *as such:* the breach is not moral perjury: but a useless, or light breach, seems to be again taking the name of God in vain, and to be renewed irreverence. Such an oath ought not to be violated without cause; but the Committee, on the most attentive consideration they can give the subject, and aided by the best authorities in morals, believe that for good ends, with justifiable motives, any vain oath may be disregarded; and that very often it is a duty to disregard it.

A single case will exemplify the views of the Committee, by practical application. It is a most prominent point of masonry, when arrived at the sublime degree of master, that MAHAH-BONE signifies "marrow in the bone." It is one of the landmarks which never change with time or place. As *bone* has always signified *bone*, (seemingly in Hebrew, in the time of King Solomon, and in all languages, ancient and modern, since his time,) it remains that "mahar," signifies "marrow." Now the candidate has, in effect, in every form of solemnity, and under most awful penalties and sanctions, bound himself never to reveal the fact that "mahar," so signifies. Mean, and disgusting, and worthless as this falsehood is, no good man would causelessly trifle with the oath he has taken. But when masonry is found to be a great political, social, moral, and religious evil; when it is found to control government, and leave to the people the shadow only of power; when it sanctions murder, and then resorts to perjury to cover blood; when it avowedly perverts the administration of justice, in civil and criminal cases; when, to sanction these things, it quotes the names of prophets and apostles, who spoke as they were moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; and, when it covers all, by the pretence of mysteries and secrets of solemn and momentous import; then it becomes, not merely allowable, it becomes a duty, to expose the base reality of these holy secrets, to hold up these solemnities to the scorn of men; and to set the bloody and sacrilegious monster in the pillory of public odium and contempt. Then it is a virtue in masons, to tell the world, that their institution contains nothing more solemn, than the disgusting story of the dead body of Hiram Abiff; and nothing more instructive, than the information that "MAHAH," signifies "MARROW."

2. If there is any one masonic obligation which is innocent in its object, and yet not frivolous, it ought to be noticed in this connection. This second head is introduced for the sake of carrying out the subject systematically, and of recording the admission, that cases of this character may possibly exist among mankind. In the diversified events of life, instances may occur, where individuals, beyond the reach of laws and of witnesses, or where all human sanctions would be incompetent, may have just motives to ratify solemn and momentous engagements, by an appeal to Him who searches the heart, and will bring every secret thing into judgment. The Committee have not found, nor are aware, of any such in masonry; but if such exist, they would be the last to question the duty of a most sacred observance of them.

3. Before we come to those oaths which are specifically criminal, there is a middle class, consisting of those which are only objectionable, by reason of their general tendency and effect; as for example, that they are unfavourable to good manners, social order, or equal right, or consequentially against moral obligation.

The Committee notice these principally, for the sake of presenting the subject in every different point of view in which it has occurred to them. An extract from one of the celebrated civilians and moralists who have been cited, will explain both the case intended, and the opinion of the author.

He says, "Though the thing promised should not be unlawful in itself, yet the oath is not the less void, if it hinders a more considerable moral good; that is to say, if it is an obstacle to some duty of humanity, or to what we owe to our relatives (a)." It then puts the case of an oath to conceal a secret of importance to mankind; and

(a) Puffendorf, in the chapter above cited.

sanctions the whole by the case of the Corban, or devoted offering, stated by our Saviour; and which will be quoted below. But while passing, the Committee beg leave to make a single remark, upon this case of the concealment of valuable secrets.

False and hollow as the pretension to such secrets is, masonry makes it. In that wretched fragment which is attributed to King Henry VI. it is taught that masonry conceals, among other things, the art of finding new arts, and this for her own profit; the art of wonder-working, prophecy, magic, and of becoming good and wise without the aid of fear or hope. Now it is obvious, that a knowledge of these secrets, which masonry conceals for her own profit, would alter the whole economy of human life, if revealed for the profit of mankind. The oath of concealment therefore is, on the principles of the great writer quoted, as applied to masonic pretensions, void.

The Committee, however, present the subject in a different point of view; and they consider all oaths void, which bind together a portion of mankind in secret and selfish associations, tending in terms, or in effect, to limit that benevolence which we owe to all; or to profit a part at the expense of the whole; or to deprive others of their equal privileges, for the benefit of such associations.

But if we would rise from human to divine authority, and draw instruction from unpolluted and infallible sources, neither examples nor precepts on this subject are wanting.

The scriptures abound with examples of oaths, rash, sinful, or ill understood, and most manifestly recorded for our admonition.

From the New Testament, the case of Herod's oath to which John the Baptist was sacrificed, and that of the forty Jews to slay Paul, are most commonly cited. No one will now assert, that either Herod, or the forty Jews, were bound in conscience to kill their victim.

But it seems surprising that the case of the Corban, put by our Saviour, and which is much more discriminative, has not been referred to.

"But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or mother, It is a gift, (Corban,—a thing devoted by vow to sacred uses,) by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be free. Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition."—Matt. xv. 5, 6. In Mark vii. 12, the remark is further made, "Ye suffer him no more to do aught for his father or mother." Now here the sin imputed, is in the very fact of compelling the vow-maker to keep his vow; for the case put, lays no reproach upon them, if he had been rich enough to pay the vow, and support his father and mother also. But having solemnly devoted to the service of the temple, some article necessary to the comfort of his parents, these false teachers required him to pay the vow, and suffered him to do no more, (not being able to do both,) for his father or his mother. There lay the sin; that is, in the very fact of performing the vow. It is impossible to state a case more precisely appropriate to such obligations of masonry, as are merely against moral obligations, or of consequential evil tendency.

The Committee have hoped that these views would meet the approbation of this convention, and of the wise and good of all classes. These views, if correct, will help us to draw right distinctions; they will tend to settle moral obligation upon the right basis; so as on one side, not to trifle causelessly with any thing that has borne the forms of an oath before God; and on the other, that they will remove the scruples of those who suppose themselves bound in conscience, by all that may unhappily have been imposed on them, under such forms.

4. Certainly, they are not so bound; for when we advance to the ground of unlawful oaths; or to that of oaths, which in their terms, or by consequence, lead to any violation of human or divine laws; the Committee then arrive on ground which has been often examined, and they find themselves propped by authority on every side; —by writers, ancient and modern; Pagan and Christian; by moralists and legislators; by the civil law, and by all laws; and especially "by that sure word of prophecy," which might save the necessity of the other "cloud of witnesses."

Rather than to detain the Convention by an array of authorities on an abstract proposition, the Committee have referred on the bottom of these pages, to a few well known names (a) of great and established authority, on questions of morals; and

(a) See the previous citations.

they pass on to select, by way of example, some points of the many oaths of masonry; and to follow them up to their natural and probable, or to their actual and known consequences. To those who have studied masonry, the examples cited, will be very familiar; to those who have studied anti-masonry, the observations to be made on them, may appear trite and common. Perhaps, however, this is one of the cases, where repetition and reinculcation may meet with indulgence.

In looking over the vast mass of masonic oaths, the Committee would draw the attention of the convention to a few points only, selected as specimens.

1. Every masonic obligation is entered into under the penalty of death; except one or two for maiming the limbs; and this penalty, with those exceptions, applies alike to every breach. The laws of masonry, like those of Draco, are ALL written in blood.

The fellow-craft's, the master's, and other degrees, contain a promise in the oath, "to obey all regular signs, summons, or tokens given, handed, sent, or thrown from the hand of a brother mason, or from the body of a just and lawfully constituted lodge, provided," &c.

Here is, then, a perfect system of machinery, for capital condemnations and executions. If the sign handed from a lodge, is a regular sign to put a masonic offender to death, it must be obeyed under penalty of death.

In every case the lodge is sole judge. There is no appeal: he who is commanded to shed another's blood, must do so, to save his own life. Thus, in the case of Miller of Belfast, if his murder shall be finally confirmed, the two men, on whom the lot fell to strangle him, had no alternative, but to obey, or to die.

But the causes for which life is forfeited by the laws of masonry, have no relation whatever, to the cases of capital crime by the law of the land. Our constitutions, bills of right, and laws, guaranty to us, life and personal liberty, in all cases, except when forfeited by those laws. In all other cases it is a capital crime to take life intentionally. They guaranty liberty of speech in all possible cases.

We have, then, two systems of criminal law arrayed against each other. Masonry takes life, for that which the laws treat as perfectly innocent: the laws condemn to death, for doing that which masonry requires; and we have seen masonry protecting criminals, whose lives, by the laws, were forfeited. It is not less obvious, that the causes for which life is forfeited, by masonic law, are, none of them, offences against the moral or divine law.

At the very outset of this subject, we have therefore an obvious case, in which the oaths of masonry cannot be obligatory, unless the civil law and divine law are both repealed. Neither is the case here supposed a gratuitous supposition. The very death of Morgan, is a practical commentary on the principle. He died for that which the laws of civil society in no manner condemn, and which cannot be called an offence against the moral law, except by begging the question which is here under discussion.

2. The oath to obey the grand hailing sign of distress, and to fly to the relief of the person giving it, is one which imports not criminality in terms, and only becomes illegal, by an illegal use. But the sign of distress has been known to have been thrown by an escaping criminal to the officer who pursued him, and with success. From the daily intercourse and conversation of life, examples are often heard of, in which the sign of distress or other masonic signs, have been handed to jurors or witnesses.

But examples cannot be necessary: the very nature of the case supposes and proves, that they must be common.

Every fugitive from justice; every man caught in the commission of a crime; every criminal on trial; every smuggler; every applicant, such as was John Anderson, for relief from congress or a state legislature; every criminal who applies for a pardon, and every man who applies for a venal office, is a person in distress.

A criminal mason has the chances which this sign may give, through all stages of the proceedings, from the issuing of a warrant for his arrest, to the pardon which relieves him from the state prison; for he may throw that sign to the constable who pursues, and to the magistrate who examines him, for commitment; to jail breakers; to grand jurymen, petty jurymen, witnesses, and judge. The Committee have seen reason to suppose that a multitude of recommendations for pardon, which have heretofore filled the country with criminals, were procured masonically. It would be

madness to suppose that so powerful an engine as the grand hailing sign of distress were not, must not be, frequently used with effect, to the subversion of law and right; especially in a government where opinion governs all, and where the aspiring need friends, it is madness to doubt whether those who seek for popularity and fame, do not often gain them by a sacrifice of duty. The remonstrances of conscience may be easily hushed by the sanctity of masonic obligations. In all these cases it will be observed, that the oath is not only unlawful in its particular application, but in its general tendency and effect, subversive of all right.

3. The oath of secrecy pervades every masonic obligation, and is the cement of the whole. Every observation which the Committee have made regarding the grand hailing sign of distress, equally applies to this. But to bring the subject more sensibly home to the business of men, the Committee beg leave first to state the extent of this obligation, and then to give a possible example of its power.

The obligation, even from the very first degree, to keep all masonic secrets, and every part and parts, point and points of them, then delivered, or thereafter to be delivered, is a most comprehensive obligation; and is sealed, as has been stated, by an oath to God, and by the penalty of a butcherly death. But in its terms no illegality is expressly embraced, which might alarm the masonic novice. All the obligations, however, advance in profligacy as they rise in rank; and it is very soon perceived that the secrets intended, are really crimes and offences against the laws. Thus in the master's degree, an exception is made of murder and treason, which are left at the discretion of the affirmant. An exception is always of the same kind of thing which the general words import.

He who promises to keep all secrets except murder and treason, implies of necessity, that by the other secrets, not excepted, he means other crimes. It follows, therefore, that if cities are burned, women violated, houses broken, and merchants ruined through forgery, by a master mason, no other master mason knowing the facts as a secret, may reveal them, under the penalty of death and of moral perjury. He may not reveal the secret as a witness on oath; for there is no such exception. So the obligation has been practised upon by masons on the western trials: and after three years of such practice, during which this same construction has been urged against masonry, that institution has not denied the justness of it, by any known or public act; nor does it appear to have taken a single step to correct the consciences of the witnesses. It has, therefore, sanctioned the construction; and reaped the advantage of it. It is too late now to retract.

But the more express terms of this oath are somewhat more flagitious; for in that institution, which distinguished men among us do not hesitate to praise and foster, it is declared by solemn rites and express words, that master masons are at full liberty to conceal each others' murders and treasons;—"and these," says the oath, "left at my own discretion!"

But if this excite our special wonder and awe; if we seem to doubt the evidence of our senses, when we see an order of men in this country, in this age, stand prominently forth to organize the possible means of safety for the highest crimes, and to organize them with deliberation, and forecast, and rites, and oaths; what shall we say, when advancing some degrees farther, we find that this concealment is no longer left optional, but is made a consecrated duty; and, as such, that it extends to every crime? In the oath of the royal arch degree, it is written, in words, at length, "TREASON AND MURDER NOT EXCEPTED"(a). So it is understood by the masonic authorities; for, in the violence on Morgan, royal arch masons alone, as the Committee understand and believe, were selected, and no one can doubt, but the selection was made with reference to this obligation.

There remains, yet, a further enormity; another wo. The secrets hitherto mentioned, are those intentionally communicated, as such. They embrace, therefore, only the cases of actual conspiracy. But, in the obligation of the holy and thrice illustrious order of the cross; [the Cross of Christ!]; in that obligation, is contained the following clause:

(a) This obligation is not uniform in all the chapters. It is, sometimes, "all secrets whatsoever," sometimes, "all secrets without exception." The most common form is believed to be that in the text. It is believed to be so given by the grand lecturer of the United States, Mr. Jeremy L. Cross.—*Note by one of the Committee.*

"I do swear to keep sacred my brothers' secrets, both when delivered to me as such, and when the nature of the information is such, as to require secrecy, for his welfare."

The scope and object of this obligation is, that knights of this order, should keep secret each others' transactions, when *unintentionally* or *accidentally* discovered. It may apply to the traitor, the murderer, the incendiary, the thief, the counterfeiter, &c., unexpectedly caught in the act. But, without insisting upon cases, which it may still be hoped, are not of frequent occurrence, the Committee beg to draw the attention of the convention, by way of hypothesis, to a case which may show, to what amazing mischief a conspiracy, under such a bond, may lead, without the commission of any single crime, which can be called atrocious.

The public economy of the United States, is much regulated by, and dependent upon, those laws, which respect our commercial intercourse with other nations. The execution of these laws is committed to a comparatively small number of revenue officers. Upon the fidelity of these men, interests are depending, which are, literally, immense. It is not merely the pub'ic revenue and expenditure, the payment of the public debt, and consequent support of credit and of government;—far beyond all this, the proper execution of those laws, enters into the value of every production of the soil, and of every branch of industry. It is felt on every farm, by every fireside, in a limited measure; but in every great establishment of manufacturing industry, it is felt in the prosperity or the ruin of the owner. To prevent the enactment or amendment of these laws; to break them down when passed; or to evade their effect, neither cunning, nor fraud, nor corruption, nor perjury, have been wanting. That the obligations of masonic secrecy have ever been interposed, to save a single bale of illicit goods, when found liable to seizure, or to remit a penalty, or produce a false appraisal, is a thing of which the Committee have no evidence. But when the wit and wealth of England have been applied to rid us, for our advantage, of laws founded in vulgar prejudice, it would be passing wonderful, if they never lighted upon this happiest of all instruments, for the improvement of our governmental economy. Let it only be remembered, that the custom-house officer, is usually and presumptively, a mason; because few appointments are made, but from the order. Let us then suppose the very probable fact, that a masonic smuggler discovers the inspector to be a brother mason: there is, then, a road opened, which, like Milton's road from the lower regions through chaos, cannot be barricaded. The inspector is poor, and, even if conscientious, must live by his office. The smuggler lands goods in his open view, and asks no favours. He gives the sign of his order; he urges on the work of fraud; and death to the inspector who betrays him. A small amount of smuggled goods depresses the market; for the reduction of price, operates most extensively upon mercantile opinion; prices fall; the manufacturer is ruined; the establishment ceases to operate; and the whole policy of a great and wise nation, is thwarted by a few unseen and ignoble hands.

The Committee repeat, that they have no knowledge of any such fact. But, neither if the letter of John Anderson, to a member of congress, attempting to corrupt him, had been addressed to a real mason, as he supposed it was, should we ever have known the application of masonry in corrupting legislatures; nor should we have thought of the safety with which every member may be tried, and tempted in turn, for none can betray the secret. But let it once be calculated, how many letters, of any single class or kind, are *missent*, in proportion to those that are rightly directed. Is there one in ten thousand? If not, then the mathematical probability is, that more than ten thousand masonic offers of corruption, have been sent and concealed.

Apply any reasonable scale of probability to the evasion of the imposts; and it will appear to be little less than a miracle, if the best and safest *of all possible means*, that is, masonic means, have never been resorted to, for the purpose of breaking down the revenue laws of our country.

The naked question, whether an oath against law, or against a prior natural or moral obligation, can be binding, is solved in a very few words; the solution is perfectly intelligible to every sound mind; and necessarily, convincing to every mind which comprehends it. There is no room for two opinions. For, if such an oath is not void in conscience, it is then binding; and then the commission of any possible crime being sworn to, would be matter of conscience.

An oath, itself, is assumed, to impose some obligation. But a subsequent and opposite oath is void, or not void. If not void, then it dissolves the obligation of the former oath; and then, it may as well itself be rendered void, by a new and further oath; and, if so, then every oath may be annulled at pleasure, by taking a contrary oath. Thus, truth and fidelity would be abandoned; and men would be divested of the most inviolable of all the bonds which cement and sanctify the social relations.

This masonic principle is thus self-destructive. For, if the masonic oath can annihilate a prior oath, or moral obligation, then, it may itself be annihilated, by a subsequent and contrary oath; and then, we are driven to say, in the same breath, concerning every oath, that it is obligatory, or is not obligatory, at pleasure.

But those masons who contend for the obligatory effect of masonic oaths, and who, at the same time, have taken any oath to civil society, such as that of an officer or voter, are called upon to decide which oath is to be preferred, when the two come in conflict. May the person thus situated, decide for himself which oath to keep? If so, he is bound by neither. Is the prior oath obligatory? Then, it follows, that every person who has first taken these masonic oaths, proclaims himself incapable of civil trust.

The Committee believe, that the great body of merely nominal masons, who regard the institution either with indifference or contempt, but do not openly renounce it, are faithful to their country and its laws. They believe, also, that the great body of the zealous and adhering masons, who act as a party, consider their masonic obligations, as in all cases paramount.

This principle was acted upon by the masonic judicatories, when deliberating beforehand, on the fate of Morgan. It was fully believed by his executioners, when amidst the storms and tumults of remonstrating conscience, they counselled concerning his death. It has been extensively acted upon, by perjured witnesses, jurors, and civil officers, to cover that crime.

In point of fact, any officer or voter, who, being a mason, takes an oath to support the constitution, or faithfully to discharge his office, places himself in a condition, where he may be subject to conflicting obligations. Thus, for example, Mr. Bruce, the sheriff of Niagara, has been called to act under an accumulation of contradictory oaths. First, by his oath of office, he was bound to keep the peace, for every sheriff is a peace-officer. Then, in obedience to his prior masonic oath, he broke the peace by violence upon the person of William Morgan. Next, he was to summon a grand jury, which was to investigate the Morgan outrage; and, on this jury, he placed a great majority of masons, with set purpose to defeat the inquiry, thus again violating his oath of office. On the trial of Whitney, at Canandaigua, he was called as a witness, and testified the truth; and, in so doing, broke his masonic obligation. Finally, being called upon to testify the same facts at the Batavia and Lockport trials, he refused. Thus, for the sake of masonry, he again violates a high and sacred duty, which every man owes to society: by that violation, prisoners escaped, and guilt and crime came off triumphant.

The limited space allowed for this report, forbids the Committee to enlarge upon many other points in the obligations of masonry, not less criminal than the foregoing. Thus, the oath always to support a brother's military fame and political preferment, in preference to another's, resolves the masonic order into one vast and permanent conspiracy against the freedom of elections and the equality of civil right.

Every witness is sworn to testify the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But masonry requires them not so to testify against a brother; so they understand it, and, in numerous instances, have refused to be sworn, or to testify; or in testifying, have dealt falsely.

Every petit juror is sworn "well and truly to try this cause," &c. But, many masons have, on full and fair trial, been set aside, by reason of their masonic obligations, as not impartial. Let there henceforth be no complaint, if we declare such men unfit for civil trust; they have been judicially proved, and pronounced to be unfit.

Every grand juror is sworn "diligently to inquire and true presentment make," &c. But, masonry requires them to keep secrets, to deliver a brother, &c.; and masonic grand juries have refused to inquire, or make a presentment of offences, perfectly well known to them.

Every police justice, and other magistrate, constable, sheriff, and district attorney,

takes an oath faithfully to execute his office. But, in multiplied instances, such officers have betrayed the laws.

In all these cases, it is exceedingly plain, that the masonic obligations do come in conflict with the higher obligations of duty and allegiance of the citizen, to his country. They have, in point of fact, engaged in that conflict, and they have prevailed in it.

But, there is a farther and more terrific view of this matter, which must be presented. It is now some years, since many of these delinquencies of masonic witnesses, jurors, and officers, were known to the high masonic authorities, who had jurisdiction over them. But, those authorities have never, so far as appears, rebuked them for these offences; on the contrary, they have aided, comforted, and abetted the criminals. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion, that the disabilities of these masonic oaths, thus judicially proved, applies to the great body of those masons, who constitute these judicatories, or act under them. If these men are disfranchised, it is not by our act, nor our sentence. It is by their own act; and judges and triers have pronounced upon the effect of it, before us.

The oath to follow an unworthy brother (in effect) with slander and defamation, and to derange his business, and ruin his fortune, legitimize, though not in terms, the awful weapon of false accusation, obloquy, and reproach. And the obligation to extricate a brother from difficulty, "right or wrong," defies all remark. Suppose that difficulty to be, that he has betrayed his country! Suppose it to be, that he has oppressed the widow, or robbed the fatherless, and is called on to refund!

If Andre had been a royal arch mason, and Van Wart and his companions had been of the same degree, acknowledging the binding effects of their obligations, must they not have rescued him from difficulty? Then, if they had done so, where would have been West Point, and the liberties of America, and the hopes of mankind?

There is yet another masonic obligation, which, though not so directly importing individual crime, is, in a political point of view, of still more fearful import, than all that have preceeded.

The knights of the east and west, and of many other degrees, take an oath "to pay due obedience and submission to all degrees beyond this, but particularly to the princes of the royal secret, and the supreme council of grand inspector general of the 33d, and regulate myself by their determinations," &c. Now, here the candidate binds himself to obey the unknown decrees, of an unknown supreme inspectorship.

It will be found, that all degrees of masonry, from the highest to the lowest, are subjected in grades of subordination, each to its superior; and the whole is united to this mysteriously sublime and invisible head, by an iron chain of dependence.

This supreme council consists of nine persons. In Bernard's Light on Masonry, appears one of their edicts, in which, with titles, and attributes of power and magnificence, only equalled by those of a Burmese monarch, they intimate their will to a subject world, "to the two hemispheres." Let the people of these United States, then, well understand the fact, that 100,000 of the most active, efficient, and intelligent men, embracing almost all in office, from the president, downwards; banded together with sanctions of blood, and oaths of perdition; with discipline, with concert, with signs of recognition, and cyphers of secret correspondence; armed with the public press, and bearing, in their train, the artillery of slander, and of the ruin of men, are united, to engross all power and influence, and to direct the resources of a great nation, to the separate profit of their order. This is no gloss of ours; it is their own claim, written in words at length, or necessarily implied, in nearly all their documents.

Long ago would your Committee, wading through this mire of depravity, have wished to quit polluted ground. But there is yet one topic, which, as it seems to them never to have been duly weighed by the anti-masonic public, they wish to notice.

A part of the master's oath in Bernard's Light on Masonry, p. 63, is thus expressed: "Furthermore, I do promise and swear, that if any part of this solemn oath or obligation be omitted at this time, that I will hold myself amenable thereunto whenever informed."

Thus every master mason is, or may be, bound by his oath to observe an unknown oath. In addition to the topic just mentioned, it will now be seen that a mason may be bound to perform unheard of acts, by unsuspected obligations.

The Committee know not how to discuss a question so revolting to all moral sentiment as this,—"whether such an oath can be binding." They hold it up rather to the observation of mankind, and would appeal to all, masons or not masons, to say, Is not such an oath a moral abomination?

But this part of the obligation is pregnant with further remark. The oath does not bind him to observe any part which may be *forgotten*, or *omitted by mistake*; nor has it any limitation whatever: it is simply to observe "any part which may be omitted." Therefore any part may be omitted; and that intentionally. When a religious man is to be received, the sacrilegious parts may be dropped or softened: when an intelligent and honest statesman is a candidate, the parts may be left out which are hostile to civil liberty: when any one hesitates or objects, as many have done, the whole may be slurred over. The Committee have no doubt but here is one explanation of the fact, that some masons of fair reputation are found, who deny that they took such oaths, and deny it in terms, which so far as can be discovered, seem free of equivocation.

If great and good men like Washington, Franklin, Fayette, and others were actually master masons, and if they ever attended the lodge a second time, of which the Committee know no evidence, the solution of that fact will probably be found in this elastic and accommodating quality of the oaths, by which they are made to fit every shape. As regards revolutionary men, however, such as military officers *here*, and our diplomatists *in France*, it is not impossible that the importance of penetrating all secrets, and of guarding against possible mischief, might justify them in keeping a watchful eye upon the interior of the lodges.

On the subject of oaths obtained by compulsion, or deception, or surprise: also of those made upon an express or implied condition, time forbids the Committee to do more than to refer the learned to the great authorities in morals who have treated on those subjects. Good faith is the basis of all obligations; and without the intent to swear, real or expressed, there is no oath. In whatever degree any oath is imposed by actual or virtual compulsion—by surprise or deception—or on an implied or express condition which is unperformed, the oath is void. A great authority (a) puts a case exactly apposite to masonry; that is, a person who has brought us very agreeable news is promised a reward: but if it turns out that the news is false, the promise fails.

There is a further consideration regarding all illegal oaths; and all that are against good morals, or of mischievous tendency, which has but lately occurred to the Committee in the particular point of view in which it is now presented. It is this: that the fact of taking or administering such oaths, is a misdemeanor at the common law. The candidate who takes the oath; and not the presiding master only, but every member of the lodge willingly assisting, is liable to indictment and punishment. The Committee present this to the convention as a great and preservative principle of our institutions. It is one which is believed to furnish the best and happiest solution of the great question, "How shall masonry, when once put down, and when the public watchfulness becomes relaxed, be prevented from an insidious revival?" Forgetting this wise and sanitary provision of our birthright common law, some have sought from the legislatures, a statute remedy. It is unnecessary. No lodge can exist for any great length of time, nor embrace many members, without being known. It will then be possible for a grand jury to find and examine the old and new members; by detailed examinations, to sift out every fact, and by cautious industry, thread all mazes of masonic secrecy. The Committee think that this power of the grand juries should be extensively made known, and should be directly acted upon, wherever grand juries can be assembled who are not fettered by masonic obligations. It should be acted upon by way of practice and preparation, and for the purpose of exemplifying the power and establishing the principle, even though it should result that no admission of members have taken place. This will save the necessity of any such resort to new remedies, as might awaken a just fear of new precedents and violent changes. Thus, there is ever at hand an unfailing remedy: it applies against all secret associations alike: it will for ever furnish to free institutions the best of all possible defences, against their most besetting dangers.

In closing their report, the Committee beg leave to remark, that if they have

(a) Puffendorf, in the chapter above cited.

seemed to be prolix, they could not think it allowable, to treat lightly or obscurely, a subject connected so deeply with the foundations of civil order and moral obligation, as this which has been committed to them. It is felt, that no man of right moral sentiment could approach the subject, without a reverential regard to its importance, and a deep sentiment of the responsibility of rightly discriminating between sacred things, and the profanation of them.

On the one side, cries are every where raised "*of moral perjury.*" It is believed that this convention, and all good citizens, feel a deep sense of obligation, to the fearless and virtuous men, who in the face not of death merely, but of infinite calumny and reproach, revealed the secrets of masonry. Those men acted from an impulse of virtue, and generally without time for advisement. But it has been most grateful to your Committee, to find in every step of their investigations, that the principles which are here presented, and which vindicate the conduct of their excellent friends, have been announced from age to age, and published by the most wise and venerated teachers of morals; and moreover by the oracles of divine truth.

But the most important of all consequences is, that if these principles are right, masonry must fall.

The institution lives on mystery and secrecy, and these depend on the oaths. Multitudes who abhor the institution, are prevented by conscientious scruples, from renouncing its authority and revealing its secrets. But when once it comes to be generally felt that no such oaths are obligatory, the bond of union will be broken. It is broken already. The cement of the masonic temple is dissolved; the arches are falling, and the doors are unhinged; and all the abominations of the inner recesses, are openly exposed to the observance of mankind.

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

The Committee of seceding masons, of which Mr. Thacher is chairman, and which Committee, by resolution of Thursday, the 16th of September, were instructed and empowered to prepare a summary of the prominent points in each degree, when time might permit, after the rising of the convention, have furnished, through Mr. Ward and Mr. Armstrong, members of said Committee, the following Report:

By an oath to the Father of Spirits, freemasons require the life, and think to pledge the *soul* of each brother, for the security of their mysteries. Our apology for despising the penalties of freemasonry, will be read in our disclosures. These will show the masonic system to be sinful; such as we are not bound to sustain by *religious* obligations. An oath, is a religious obligation; but neither moral nor religious obligations, neither a promise nor an oath, can bind us to disobey God.

The system of freemasonry, in the first three degrees, dates from creation, and represents itself to have come from Moses and Solomon, and the apostles; but the witness is false, and we cannot bear it, without a breach of the ninth commandment. The system of freemasonry lightly uses the name of the Lord our God; we cannot uphold it, and be guiltless of taking the name of the Lord in vain. The system of freemasonry exacts the life of its candidates, which we cannot defend, without violating the sixth commandment of the decalogue.

We present freemasonry, not as it was fifty or a hundred years ago, but as it is now; not as Franklin and Washington received it, but as it was given to us in their great names. Secret societies tend fast to corruption, and speculative masonry, in its short day, has made a rapid progress. It has materially degenerated in this country within the last forty years. What it has been, each may inquire for himself; but what it is now, we know, and here set forth. Having experimental acquaintance with it, as it now exists, in Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland, we find it uniform throughout, and declare it to be in the main, fairly set forth in "*Light on Masonry.*"

OF THE LODGES.

The whole system is made up of what are termed *degrees* of the order. These are forty-three and more, in this country. The symbolic lodges confer the first three degrees(a). The room in which a symbolic lodge is held, represents the most holy place of King Solomon's temple. The principal officers are, *the worshipful master*, and the *senior* and *junior wardens*. Lodges are controlled by grand lodges, as the church is by general assemblies, convocations, and conferences.

The oldest lodge in these states, is St. John's Lodge, Boston, established by the grand lodge of England, A. D. 1733. Prior to the declaration of American Independence, in 1776, the provincial lodges were dependent upon the British grand lodges. During, and after the revolution, the several states formed independent

(a) The four succeeding, are usually conferred by the chapter. Then the arrangement of the degrees becomes confused; but, for this time, we follow nearly the Ahiman Rezon, of Maryland, 1826, and put the degrees conferred by the encampment, from the seventh to the eleventh; and the degrees conferred by the council of the Trinity, from the eleventh to the fourteenth. The fourteenth to the twenty-fourth, inclusive, are conferred by the sublime grand lodge of perfection. The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, by the council of princes of Jerusalem; from the twenty-seventh to the forty-third, inclusive, are given by the inspectors, who are sovereigns of masonry, for life.

grand lodges, and each state now has a grand odge, as much as it has a state legislature; and tne meetings of the grand lodge, and of the state legislature, are usually simultaneous. In 1822, an attempt was made to form a federal grand lodge for the United States. The grand lodge of Tennessee, in vain renewed the attempt, in 1829.

In the process of taking the degrees, no person knows, or can know, masonically, any sign, or word, or token, or oath, of any degree of masonry, above the degree he has taken, because such knowledge could only be had in violation of masonic obligations. Each degree of masonry comprises an obligation, or a penalty, the design of which is, to bind the candidate to the observance of an inviolable secrecy of all masonic transactions. On receiving the obligation of an entered apprentice, which is the first degree of masonry, the candidate is prepared in a manner which is termed, masonically, "*neither naked nor clothed, barefoot nor shod, hood-winked, and with a cable-tow round his neck.*" Thus prepared, he is made first to kneel for the benefit of a lodge prayer; he is then instructed to kneel before the masonic altar, on his left knee, to put his left hand under the bible, and his right hand on the open bible, square, and compasses, in which situation he takes the obligation, by repeating the words after the master of the lodge. The master addresses the candidate thus: "Mr. ——, you are now placed in a proper position to take upon you the solemn oath or obligation of an entered apprentice mason, which I assure you, is neither to affect your religion nor politics. If it is of your own free will and accord, that you thus present yourself, repeat your name, and say, after me." The following obligation is then administered: "I, ——, of my own free will and accord, in presence of Almighty God, and this worshipful lodge of free and accepted masons, dedicated to God, and held forth to the holy order of Saint John, do hereby and hereon, most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, that I will always hail, ever conceal, and never reveal any part or parts, art or arts, point or points of the secrets, arts, and mysteries of ancient freemasonry which I have received, am about to receive, or may be hereafter instructed in, to any person or persons in the known world, except it be a true and lawful brother mason, or within the body of a just and lawfully constituted lodge of such, and not unto him, or unto them, whom I shall hear so to be, but unto him and them only, whom I shall find so to be, after strict trial, and due examination, or lawful information. Furthermore do I promise and swear, that I will not write, print, stamp, stain, hew, cut, carve, indent, paint, or engrave it, on any thing moveable or immoveable, under the whole canopy of heaven, whereby, or whereon the least letter, figure, character, mark, stain, shadow, or resemblance of the same, may become legible or intelligible to myself or any other person in the known world, whereby the secrets of masonry may be unlawfully obtained, through my unworthiness. To all which I do most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, without the least equivocation, mental reservation, or self-evasion of mind in me whatsoever; binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the roots, and my body buried in the rough sands of the sea, at low water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours. So help me God, and keep me steadfast, in the due performance of the same."

After taking the obligation, the candidate is brought to light, by uncovering his eyes, at the command of the most worshipful master, profanely issued in the words of the Almighty, "*let there be light,*" and as the bandage falls, the master adds, "*there was light!*" He is then taught the first step of a mason, together with the sign, grip, and word, Boaz, in the manner which is accurately explained in Morgan's Illustrations, and in Light on Masonry.

In taking the second or fellow-craft's degree, the candidate is attired in the preparation room, as at first, with slight variations. He is brought to *more light in masonry*, by the removal of his hood, and the profane use of the same words of Scripture. The obligation of this degree, comprises the following points: "I will not give the degree of a fellow-craft mason to any one of an inferior degree; I will support the constitution of the grand lodge, under which this lodge is held, and conform to all the by-laws, rules, and regulations of this, or any other lodge, of which I may at any time hereafter become a member, as far as in my power; I will obey all regular signs and summonses, given, handed, sent, or thrown to me by the hand of a brother fellow-craft mason, or from the body of a just and lawfully constituted lodge of such,

provided it be within the length of my cable-tow, or square and angle of my work." The penalty attached to this obligation is, "to have my left breast torn open, and my heart and vitals taken from thence, and thrown over my left shoulder, and carried into the valley of Jehoshaphat, there to become a prey to the wild beasts of the field, and vultures of the air, if ever I should prove wilfully guilty of violating any part of this, my solemn oath or obligation, of a FELLOW-CRAFT MASON. So help me God, and keep me steadfast in the due performance of the same."

This degree of masonry has its pass-word, sign, grip, and word. The pass-word is *Shibboleth;* the word is JACHIN.

In the third degree, called "*the sublime degree of a master mason,*" the candidate is attired in the preparation room, with hood-wink, cable-tow, indispensables, and slippers; he is brought to "*further light in masonry,*" by the same process used to bring him "*to light,*" and, then, "*to more light* in masonry." He is told that, as in the first degree, on coming to light, he saw both points of the compasses concealed beneath the square, it was to signify, that he was yet ignorant of two principal points of masonry; that as he also saw in the fellow-crafts' degree, one point of the compasses above the square, and the other beneath, it was to denote his ignorance of yet one material point of masonry; but, as in this, the third degree, he sees both points of the compasses elevated above the square, it denotes that he is about to receive all the light which can be given him in a master's lodge.

The obligation of this degree, comprises the following points:

"I promise and swear, that I will not wrong this lodge, or a brother of this degree, to the value of one cent, knowingly, myself, nor suffer it to be done by others, if in my power to prevent it. I promise and swear, that a master mason's secrets, given to me in charge, as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast, as in his own, when communicated to me, murder and treason excepted, and these left to my own election. I promise and swear, that I will not violate the chastity of a master mason's wife, mother, sister, or daughter, I knowing them to be such, nor suffer it to be done by others if in my power to prevent it. I promise and swear, that I will go on a master mason's errand, whenever required, even should I have to go barefoot and barehead, if within the length of my cable-tow, (mystically three miles.)

"I promise, and swear, that if any part of this, my solemn oath or obligation be omitted at this time, I will hold myself amenable thereunto, whenever informed. To all which I do most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, with a fixed and steady purpose of mind in me, to keep and perform the same, binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my body severed in two in the midst, and divided to the north and south, my bowels burnt to ashes in the centre, and the ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven, that there might not the least trace of remembrance remain among men or masons of so vile and perjured a wretch as I should be, were I ever to prove wilfully guilty of violating any part of this my solemn oath or obligation of a master mason. So help me God, and keep me steadfast in the due performance of the same."

"I promise and swear that I will not give the master's word, which I shall hereafter receive, neither in the lodge, nor out of it, except it be on the five points of fellowship, and then not above my breath; I promise and swear that I will not give the grand hailing sign of distress, except I am in real distress, or for the benefit of the craft, when at work; and should I ever see that sign given, or hear the word accompanying it, and should the person who gave it appear to be in distress, I will fly to his relief at the risk of my life, should there be a greater probability of saving his life than of losing my own. I promise and swear that I will not speak evil of a brother master mason, behind his back or before his face; but I will apprise him of all approaching danger, if in my power. I promise and swear that I will always remember a brother master mason, when on my knees, offering up my devotions to Almighty God."

After this he is made to kneel down and pray: is assaulted, mystically killed, and twice buried by Jubela, Jubelo, and Jubelum; raised to life after fifteen days corruption, by king Solomon, and gifted with the awful word, MAH! HAH! BONE! as a substitute for the real word of a master mason, until future generations find out *the true word.* This the candidate is led to search for in the deeper mysteries of masonry.

ROYAL ARCH MASONRY.

The four next degrees in the mystery, are committed in this country alone to a masonic government called *Chapter*, for the primary body, *Grand Chapter* for a state, and *General Grand Chapter* for the federal union. The mystery of the chapter pretends to have come, in part, from heaven, by Moses, Solomon, and Zerubbabel, to this generation; but it is certain that the primeval *chapter* was instituted, A. D. 1747, at Arras, in France; that Moses Michael Hayes, a Jew, introduced it with the still deeper mysteries into this country by a patent, dated 6th of December, 1778; that the first mention of a *Chapter* of masons in this country, which we have been able to find, was in 1796; that the first *Grand Chapter* was instituted at Philadelphia, A. D. 1797, and the first for the northern states at Hartford, January, 1798; and that the first *General Grand Chapter* of the United States was instituted at the city of New York, 6th June, 1816. We introduce these facts to show the unblushing effrontery of royal arch masonry, and to enable our readers the better to appreciate the rites and obligations which follow.

The room in which a chapter meets, is called the most holy place. The three principal officers of the chapter, are the most excellent high priest after the order of Melchisedek, and the excellent king, and the excellent scribe. The mark master's degree is the fourth in masonry, and the first in the chapter. In it the candidate is required to play a very foolish part, and then to keep it a secret under the oath and penalty. He is caused to swear in the following words:

"In addition to my former obligations, I do promise and swear that I will support the constitution of the general grand royal arch chapter of this state, under which this lodge is held, and conform to all the by-laws, rules, and regulations, of this, or any other lodge of mark master masons, of which I may at any time hereafter become a member. Furthermore do I promise, that I will not sell, swap, barter, or exchange my mark, (a) which I shall hereafter choose, nor send it a second time to pledge, until it is lawfully redeemed from the first. Furthermore do I promise and swear, that I will receive a brother's mark when offered to me, requesting a favour, and grant him his request if in my power; and if it is not in my power to grant his request, I will return his mark with the value thereof, which is a half shekel of silver, or a quarter of a dollar. To all which I do most solemnly swear, under no less penalty than to have my right ear smote off, and my right hand chopped off as an impostor, if I should prove wilfully guilty of violating any part of this my solemn oath or obligation of a mark master mason. So help me God, and make me steadfast to keep and perform the same."

The candidate for past-master, the second degree of the chapter, is made a mirthful butt for all the brethren, which, in addition to his other obligations, he is sworn to keep secret under penalty of having his tongue split from tip to root.

The penalty of the most excellent master's degree is, "to have my breast torn open, and my heart and vitals taken from thence and exposed to rot on a dunghill, if ever I violate any part of this my solemn oath or obligation of a most excellent master mason. So help me God, and make me steadfast to keep and perform the same."

The obligation of the royal arch degree of masonry contains the following clause, in addition to the former obligations:

"I do promise and swear, that I will not give the grand omnific royal arch word, which I shall hereafter receive, neither in the chapter nor out of it, except there be present two companions, royal arch masons, who with myself make three, and then by three times three under a living arch, not above my breath. Furthermore, that I will not reveal the ineffable characters belonging to this degree, nor retain the key to them in my possession, but destroy it whenever it comes to my sight; that I will aid and assist a companion royal arch mason, when engaged in any difficulty, and espouse his cause, so far as to extricate him from the same, if it be in my power, whether he be right or wrong. Also, that I will promote a companion royal arch mason's political preferment, in preference to another of equal qualification." In some chapters, the foregoing clause is thus administered: "Furthermore do I pro-

(a) A secret token commonly impressed upon some metal, which token each mark master is required to select for himself, and to register it in the lodge.

mise and swear, that I will vote for a companion royal arch mason, before any other of equal qualifications." In other chapters, this clause of the obligation is altogether omitted: "Furthermore do I promise and swear, that a companion royal arch mason's secrets, given to me in charge as such, and knowing him to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast, as in his own, *murder and treason not excepted.*" The last clause, is sometimes varied, thus: "All the secrets of a companion, without exception;" or, "whatsoever." "All which I most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, with a firm and steadfast resolution to perform the same, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or self-evasion of mind in me whatsoever. Binding myself under no less penalty, than that of having my skull smote off, and my brains exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, should I ever, knowingly or wilfully, violate or transgress any part of this my solemn oath or obligation of a royal arch mason. So help me God, and keep me steadfast in the due performance of the same."(a)

The grand omnific royal arch word, "*long lost but now found,*" is JAH-BUH-LUN. Candidates are instructed to understand that this word signifies God, in three different languages, (i. e.) Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac, and that it is the *true word* of a

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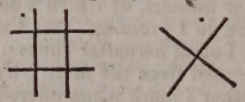
(a) The cypher alluded to in the oath, is the same A. Burr used in his conspiracy. Solicitous to furnish it in the most perspicuous manner, one of the committee obtained the following letter:

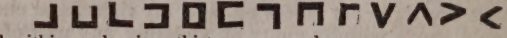
DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your request, I take great pleasure in furnishing the royal arch cypher, "*with a key to it.*" The cypher consists of combinations of right angles, in various attitudes, with the addition of a dot, or point, to each. The key is thus delineated, and when understood, explains the mystery to the commonest capacity.



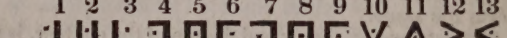
Being dissected, it forms thirteen distinct characters, thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13



A point placed within each, gives thirteen more, thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

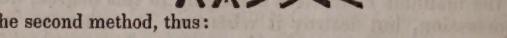


Making a total of twenty-six; just equal to the number of letters in the English alphabet.

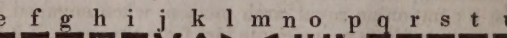
There are two ways, at least, of combining and using these characters, for the purposes of secret correspondence. One method, is to call the first sign, a; the same with a point, , b; &c. Another is to apply them, in their regular course, to the first half of the alphabet, a; b; and so on, to m; after which, repeat them with a dot, beginning with n; o; &c. to z.

The alphabet, according to the first method, stands thus:

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t

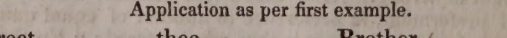


u v w x y z.



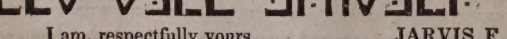
According to the second method, thus:

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z



Application as per first example.

I greet thee Brother Boaz!



I am, respectfully yours, JARVIS F. HANKS,

Late High Priest of Webb Chapter, Cleaveland, Ohio.

mason. The pass-word of this degree, by which a royal arch mason makes himself known to a companion, is, "I AM THAT I AM." Thus should a companion ask a stranger, "Are you a royal arch mason?" and the answer should be, "*I am that I am,*" this would be masonically an affirmative answer. After the oath the candidates are conducted three times around the room, and then are caused to kneel down and pray, and also to thank God that they are "*laid under new and stronger obligations of virtue and holiness!*" They arise and travel again. A mock representation of the burning bush is presented to them, and a voice is heard uttering the words of Jehovah to Moses: "Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place where thou standest is holy ground. I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look upon God." The candidates' shoes are put off, and their eyes are covered to suit the action to the words. The scene suddenly shifts to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The breaking down of the walls is figured by overthrowing the candidates, amidst the din of cannon balls, feet, and chairs. Another change brings them in hood-winked, captives on their way from Babylon to Jerusalem, to rebuild the temple. They are introduced with the words, "*I will lead the blind in a way they know not,*" &c. They are conducted beneath the locked hands of the companions, forming a double line, and are bidden to "*stoop low; he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*" That the hope of exaltation may be inversely measured by the lowliness of the stoop, the brethren usually bear the candidate down prostrate upon the floor.

This journey is called the *rugged road;* and to make it indeed so, suitable stumbling blocks are laid for the blindfolded; but as all this represents the pious desire of the Jewish captives in Babylon, to return and build the temple of Jerusalem, the candidates are caused three several times to kneel and implore the divine guidance and protection, amidst the self-laid dangers of the way! They pass the different veils of the tabernacle, by the use of the name of the Almighty, and by imitating, through their conductor, the signs which Moses was divinely directed to exhibit in the court of Pharaoh. They discover the ark of the covenant, and expose its pretended contents, with repeated exclamations of "HOLINESS TO THE LORD."

In a brief outline of masonry, it is impossible to represent all the profanity of the royal arch chapter. The grip, the grand hailing sign, &c. are correctly described in "Light on Masonry."

ORDERS OF MASONIC KNIGHTHOOD.—ENCAMPMENTS.

The encampment is the third region in the descent to the mystical Tartarus. It embraces three degrees. It has for its chief officers, a most eminent grand commander, a generalissimo, a captain-general, and a prelate, each with the title of eminent. The state administration is committed to each grand encampment, and the national administration, to the general grand encampment of the United States. The first mentioned grand encampment to our knowledge, in the United States, convened at Philadelphia, the 12th of May, A. D. 1797. A convention held at Providence, Rhode Island, May 5th, 1805, organized a United States' grand encampment; but the federal grand encampment was instituted at the city of New York, in the same month and year, with the federal grand royal arch chapter, June 22d, 1816.

The traditions of the masonic encampment, make it come from the chivalric knights of the crusades; but history traces its origin to the city of Lyons, in France, and to the year of our Lord 1743.

The penalty of the degree of knights of the red cross, the first degree of the encampment, is to have "my house torn down, the timbers thereof set up, and I hanged thereon, and when the last trump shall blow, to be for ever excluded from the society of all true and courteous knights, should I ever wilfully or knowingly violate any part of this my solemn obligation, of knight of said red cross. So help me God, and make me steadfast to keep and perform the same."

In the knight templar and knight of Malta degrees, the candidate is put in retirement for a season, masonically termed *the chamber of reflection.* He travels in pilgrim's weeds three mystic years. He is then sworn, in addition to his previous obligations, in the following words: "I will answer and obey all due signs and regular

summonses, which shall be given or sent to me from regular encampments of knights templars, if within the distance of forty miles;—natural infirmities and unavoidable accidents only excusing me. I will help, aid, and assist with my counsel, my purse, and my sword, all poor and indigent knight templars, &c. so far as truth, honour, and justice may warrant. I will go the distance of forty miles, even barefoot, and on frosty ground, to save the life, and relieve the distresses of a worthy knight. I will wield my sword in defence of innocent virgins, destitute widows, helpless orphans, and the Christian religion. Binding myself under no less penalty, than to have my head struck off, and placed on the highest spire in Christendom, should I knowingly or wilfully, violate any part of this my solemn obligation of a knight templar. So help me God," &c.

He then spends three mystic years in warfare, for "*innocent virgins, destitute widows, helpless orphans, and the Christian religion.*" Placed at the foot of a triangular table, (on which a coffin is laid, surmounted with the bible, and the whole crowned with a death's head and cross-bones, while twelve tapers, representing the twelve apostles, arranged in the form of a triangle, line the edge of the table,) the candidate is made to extinguish one taper, for a figure of the death of Judas. He then drinks four libations, following the words of the most eminent. To prepare him for the fifth libation, he is sent on a year's pilgrimage, with a human skull in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other. He beholds the ascension of the Lord in transparency, and hears the anthem:

"The rising God forsakes the tomb."

Suitable passages are read from the New Testament. He is then returned to the foot of the table, and required to drink the fifth libation, "as an emblem of the bitter cup of death, from which, even the Saviour of the world, notwithstanding his ardent prayers and solicitations, was not exempted." The passion scene of the garden of Gethsemane, is read from the evangelist, with emphasis upon the words, "*Heavenly Father, let* THIS CUP *pass from me;*" after which, the grand commander takes the crown of a human skull, pours wine into it, and gives the candidate to drink, at the conclusion of the following obligation, repeated after the most eminent commander:

"This pure wine I now take, in testimony of my belief of the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul. And may this libation appear as a witness against me, both here and hereafter; and, as the sins of the world were laid on the head of the Saviour, so may all the sins committed by the person whose skull this was, be heaped upon my head, in addition to my own, should I ever knowingly or wilfully violate or transgress any obligation, that I have heretofore taken, take at this time, or shall at any future period take, in relation to any degree of masonry, or order of knighthood. So help me God." This is called the sealed obligation, because it is a seal upon all masonic obligations, and is considered more binding than any other special obligation.

The candidate is then dubbed, and furnished with the due guard, penitent's pass, hailing sign, grip, and word of a masonic templar. The word is Golgotha, and the grand hailing sign of distress is made, by the templar's throwing himself into the attitude of our Saviour nailed to the cross.

The knight of Malta is known by signs and words of profanity, surpassing, in some respects, any before given; they consist of a representation of the interview between our blessed Saviour and Thomas, after the resurrection. "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands," &c.

COUNCILS.

The next government in the pit of freemasonry, below the encampment, is called a council. In the darkness of these regions, sensible approach is made towards *chaos*. The first council is that of the Trinity; it embraces three degrees.

1st. Knights of the Christian mark, and guards of the conclave. They swear, in these words: "I will protect and support the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, feed them, if hungry, give them drink, if thirsty, if naked, clothe them with garments, teach them, if ignorant, and admonish them for their good. All this I promise in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and if I perform it not, let me be *Anathema Maran-atha, Anathema Maran-atha.*"

They clothe the candidate in a white robe, saying: "He that believeth and endu-

reth unto the end, the same shall overcome; and I will cause his iniquities to pass from him, and he shall dwell in my presence for ever and ever. Take away his filthy garments, and clothe him with a change of raiment; for he that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and his name shall be written in the book of life, and I will confess his name before my Father, and his holy angels," &c. His lips are touched by a live coal from the altar, saying: "All thy sins are removed, and thy iniquities blotted out." He is sealed in the forehead one of the 144,000, "who have passed through great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, which was slain from the foundation of the world." The officers of this degree, "represent the Almighty, both the Father and the Son; two archangels; the six men whom Ezekiel saw in vision, as recorded in the ninth chapter of his prophecies; the recording angel, who inscribes in the book of life the names of the "sealed;" an angel conductor, and an angel guard. The candidate represents a saint, and his initiation into the conclave the reception of a saint into heaven, not through the merits of the Redeemer, but on account of his own good works. The whole degree is blasphemy; a burlesque on divine revelation, on heaven, holiness, and God."(a)

2d. Knights of the holy sepulchre. The candidates kneel at the foot of the altar. The prelate takes the bread, and says: "Brethren, eat ye all of this bread, in love, that ye may learn to support each other." He then takes the cup, and says: "Drink ye all of this cup, to ratify the vow that ye have made, and learn to sustain one another."

3d. The degree of the "holy and thrice illustrious order of the cross," denominated the council of the Trinity. The brother of this degree, is recommended by his secret mark, to the confidence of all those throughout the world, who can truly and deservedly say, "*I am a Christian.*" This secret mark is the initials, "I. H. S. Baal Sha Lisha, *I am the Lord.*" One clause of the obligation of this degree is, "I further swear, that should I know another to violate any essential part of this obligation, I will use my most decided endeavours, by the blessing of God, to bring such person to the strictest and most condign punishment, agreeably to the rules and usages of our most ancient fraternity; and this, by pointing him out to the world as an unworthy vagabond, by opposing his interest, by deranging his business, by transferring his character after him, wherever he may go, and by exposing him to the contempt of the whole fraternity, and of the world, but of our illustrious order more especially, during his whole natural life." The penalty of this obligation is, "To die the death of a traitor, by having a spear thrust into my left side." In a third obligation of this degree, are the following clauses: "I do now, by the honour and power of the mark of the holy and illustrious order of the cross, solemnly swear, that I do hereby accept of, and will for ever consider the cross and mark of this order, as my only hope, that I will make it the test of faith and fellowship; I swear to advance my brother's best interest, by always supporting his military fame, and political preferment, in opposition to any other. I swear to look on his enemies as my enemies, his friends as my friends, and stand forth to mete out tender kindness or vengeance accordingly. I swear to keep my brother's secrets, both when delivered to me as such, and when the nature of the information is such, as to require secrecy for his welfare. To all this, and to every part thereof, I do now, as before, solemnly, and in truth, bind and obligate my soul; and, also, in the earthly penalties, to wit, that for the violation of the least matter or particle of any of the heretofore obligations, I become the silent and mute subject of the displeasure of the illustrious order, and have their power and wrath turned on my head, to my destruction and dishonor, which, like the nail of Jael, may be the sure end of an unworthy wretch. To all this I swear."

THE SUBLIME GRAND LODGE OF PERFECTION.

According to the best maps of the modern *Erebus*, the lodge of perfection occupies the region beneath the profane council of the Trinity; but, some place it below the chapter, and on the same level with the encampment. No man can reach the

(a) Noble D. Strong.

deeper mysteries of masonry in this country, without first becoming a royal arch mason. But, when this degree is taken, there are different roads to the further degrees. A royal arch mason may enter the lodge of perfection, and descend to the ineffable degree of " grand elect, perfect, and sublime mason ;" or he may go into the masonic encampment, and take the degrees of knighthood, and then enter the lodge of perfection. This lodge contains eleven degrees, called the

INEFFABLE DEGREES OF PERFECTION.

On the degree of " secret master," which is the first of the eleven ineffable degrees, the obligation binds the candidate, " to obey the orders and decrees of the council of princes of Jerusalem, under penalty of the penalties of all former degrees."

The obligation of "*perfect master*," which is the second degree of the lodge of perfection, binds the candidate to secrecy, under the penalties of all his former obligations, concluding with Amen, four times.

The obligation of the degree of "*intimate secretary*," binds the candidate to secrecy, and obedience to the mandates and decrees of the grand council of princes of Jerusalem, under penalty of having his body dissected, bowels taken out, heart cut in pieces, and the whole thrown to the wild beasts of the field. In taking this degree, the candidate is arrested by Hiram, king of Tyre, dragged from the anti-chamber, into the lodge room, before king Solomon, and condemned to death, for being discovered in an attitude of listening, to obtain the secrets of the grand council, but is afterwards pardoned, on condition of taking the oath of secrecy.

The obligation of the degree of "*provost and judge*," concludes with a penalty of all the penalties of the former degrees.

The obligation of the degree of "*intendant of the building*," or "*master in Israel*," has this penalty : " To have the body severed in two, and the bowels taken out ;" to which the candidate says, *Amen.*

In the obligation of the "*elected knight of nine*," the candidate swears thus : " I do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will revenge the assassination of our worthy master, Hiram Abiff, not only on the murderers, but, also, on all who may betray the secrets of this lodge : (a) and if I violate this, my obligation, I consent to be struck with the dreadful poniard of vengeance now presented to me, and to have my head cut off, and stuck on the highest pole or pinacle, in the eastern part of the world, as a monument of my villany." Amen, four times.

The obligation of the " *illustrious elected of fifteen*," has this conclusion : " I consent and agree, to have my body opened perpendicularly and horizontally, and exposed to the air for eight hours, that the flies may prey on the entrails ; also, to have my head cut off, and placed on the highest pinnacle in the world ; and to be ready to inflict the same penalty on all who disclose the secrets of this degree."

The penalty of the degree of " *illustrious knights*," is, " *to have my body cut in quarters.*"

On the degree of " *grand master architect*," the penalty of the obligation is the same as the last above mentioned, " to have the body cut in quarters."

In the degree of " *knights of the ninth arch*," the candidate swears to double his assiduity and zeal, on penalty of all former obligations ; and, in case of failure, that his body may be exposed to the beasts of the forest as a prey. " So God maintain me in my present obligation."

In receiving the last degree, in the lodge of perfection, the candidate is informed of its utility and importance, and that it will prepare him for futurity. The penalty of this degree is, to have the body cut open, and the bowels torn out, and given to the vultures for food. In this degree the candidate enters a deep-vaulted cavern, and brings up from thence the triangle of perfection, deposited by Enoch, the seventh from Adam, glittering with precious stones, on which is engraved the ineffable name of the Supreme Being, *which he is sworn never to repeat*, during his natural life ; and after being anointed with holy (masonic) oil, on the head, lips, and breast, the candidate receives three signs, three guard-words, and three pass-words, and is pronounced, " *grand elect, perfect, and sublime mason.*"

Descending into the pit, the masonic dominion next beneath the sublime grand

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(a) It has been administered " *on all who betray the secrets of masonry.*"

lodge of perfection, according to the Ahiman Rezon of *Maryland*, 1826, is called the "*council of princes of Jerusalem.*" We speak of this, as men sworn in the preceding lodge, to obey the orders issued from it. The *law* of death to the seceder, is published in the first degree of masonry; in the lodge of perfection, *executioners* are sworn to avenge the violation of masonic law; and the council of the princes of Jerusalem are the acknowledged superiors, whose *orders*, perfect and sublime masons are positively sworn to obey. There is method in this madness; one spirit animates the whole system. The sovereign inspectors-general cap the inverse climax of the masonic powers, and rule from the surface to the centre of the mystery. Their peculiar province extends from the twenty-seventh to the forty-third degree; their dominion began, A. D. 1758; their capital lies "*beneath* the canopy of the zenith;" and their proclamations are addressed to "*both hemispheres.*"

Besides the regular degrees of the various principalities of freemasonry, many *honorary* degrees are appended to different parts of the system. We notice only two, attached to the symbolic lodges.

1st. "The *test* degree," instituted since Morgan's death, to prevent the admission of his masons into the lodges. It has a *lecture*, a sign, a grip, a word, and an oath. The word is *los*, that is, *sol*, or the sun reversed. *It was instituted, by the grand lodge of New York, A. D.* 1827; *and is masonic proof of the incontestible truth and accuracy of Morgan's disclosures, and of the universal knowledge of the fact among active masons in our country.* Masons, attending the American lodges, cannot fail to know the *test* degree, the origin of it, and the cause of its introduction. It was established in direct violation of the masonic oath, which requires the "*old land marks*" to be observed, and which positively forbids the invention of new customs. It is exclusively maintained, in open violation of oaths which require the brethren *to hail* the signs, to acknowledge the tokens, and to respond to the words of the mystery, independent of the *test*, or any other newly invented degree. "*Every mason is every where a mason,*" and has a right to all the privileges of a mason; no lodge or grand lodge can disfranchise him, by adopting innovations in the body of masonry. But the lodges venture to reject brethren from their door, who will not turn *sol* into *los*, light into darkness, and truth into falsehood; they refuse him who refuses to say that Morgan was a false witness, and, at the same time, they require the *test oath* and degree, solely because Morgan was a true witness; they expel him for *unmasonic conduct*, who acknowledges the truth of Morgan, while they themselves acknowledge it among themselves, and, also, their own hypocrisy, by inventing new devices to conceal that truth.(a)

2d. "*The secret monitor,*" belonging to master masons. It has a legend, lecture, grip, token, sign, word, and oath. It is the only oath which masons are sworn to commit to memory. The nature of the obligation explains this peculiarity. The *secret monitor* is bound in so many words, to prefer a brother in business, to assist him in trade, and to warn him in making a good or bad bargain, according to circumstances, either by sign, or grip, or word. That he may not plead want of memory for neglect of duty, he is bound first to make that duty familiar to his memory, under penalty of having his heart pierced with the arrow of an enemy. The legend of the degree, is the interview between David and Jonathan, when Jonathan, with a lad, discovered to David, by the flight of his arrow, that he must escape for his life, from the hand of Saul. "But the lad knew not any thing; only Jonathan and David understood the matter." The *brethren* represent Jonathan and David, the uninitiated represent the lad; the former use their secret tokens, and the latter regard it only as an ordinary transaction; the uninitiated *know not any thing, only the brethren understand the matter.*

There are other degrees on which your Committee have not reported, and other points, also, embraced in the resolution by which they are governed, particularly in relation to the tendency of the masonic institution, to subvert justice, conceal crime, contaminate the morals of society, and undermine the foundation of a free government, which are duly appreciated; but the limited space necessarily assigned to a report, forbids our further pursuing the subject.

(a) In conferring this degree upon one of the Committee, the master observed: "If they steal our keys, we must put on new locks."

In concluding this report, we make no appeal for the truth of the disclosures. We speak what we know, and testify what we have seen and heard, and our own hands handled. We wish not to excite, but to warn, not to wound, but to heal the public mind with immutable truth. We are not prompted by feelings of unkindness toward any brother mason, or by any political or personal motive, in seceding from masonry, but only by a sincere regard for the rising generation, for our whole country, and for posterity. What is there in masonry for which we should adhere to it? Its form and character, its doctrines and usages, its origin and practices, conspire to make it unspeakably odious to a virtuous mind, and dangerous to any government.

We anticipate from adhering masons, the single charge of presenting to the public *only the deformities* of freemasonry. Its gaudy virtues, its trumpeted alms, its hypocritical prayers, and its brave pretensions, deceive many; they have deceived us. We expose the hypocrite. No law requires us to rehearse the feats of valour and the sacrifices of patriotism, which a detected traitor voluntarily exhibits, to cover his treasonable designs. We simply state the time, place, and circumstances of his treason. We precisely state the degree, point, act, and words, in which freemasonry offends against its professed character. The public may judge whether it is a grand imposture.

We are bound to the community by the usual ties of property and kindred, children and friends. Some of our dearest relatives yet adhere to freemasonry. We mean them no harm. We know that as face answers to face in a glass, so does this brief outline to the principal features of freemasonry. They cannot deny it. If here is the smallest variation from their conceptions of truth, they know that the variation arises from the nature of the subject, and not from hasty or wilfully erroneous statements on our part. They must admit, that careful study is on our side, while too little consideration is with them.

By this summary of the order, we wish to rescue others from the same snare, into which we inconsiderately fell. We refuse, however humble we may be, to act as decoy-doves, to entice the young men of our country into the net of freemasonry. We cannot consent to hover and flutter, in attempting to escape from masonic thraldom, and to return for ever to the ground, held by the tow-line of this mystery of abominations. We break away, we burst our ties, not unmindful of holiness, but with an upward flight, and an eye fixed on heaven. We honestly received freemasonry, a counterfeit; we submit to the loss; we neither retain it, nor pass it; but having fully detected it, we check it on the face, we stamp it on the wall, and we nail it to the counter; for even now it cheats many. We were deceived by false promises, reiterated in volumes, and supported by great names. Our names are yet ours, and we erase them from the guarranty of freemasonry.

Henry Dana Ward, *Master Mason, American Union Lodge, No.* 1, Marietta, Ohio. Delegate from New York.

Lebbeus Armstrong, *Grand Elect, Perfect, and Sublime Mason, North Star Lodge, No.* 162; *Sacondaga Royal Arch Chapter; Lodge of Perfection,* held by the *Grand Princes of Jerusalem,* in Mayfield, Montgomery county, New York. Delegate from New York.

Moses Thacher, *Royal Arch Mason, St. John's Lodge, No.* 2, *and Providence Royal Arch Chapter,* Providence, Rhode Island. Delegate from Massachusetts.

Abner Morse, *Master Mason.* Delegate from New Jersey.

Ezra Slifer, *Royal Arch Mason.* Delegate from Maryland.

Calvin Barber, *Mark Master Mason.* Delegate from Connecticut.

David Bernard, *Grand Elect, Perfect, and Sublime Mason.* Delegate from New York.

Martin Flint, *Master Mason.* Delegate from Vermont.

Noble D. Strong, *Royal Arch Mason. King David's Royal Arch Chapter,* Auburn, New York. Delegate from Connecticut.

Pliny Merrick, *Royal Arch Mason.* Delegate from Massachusetts.

Herbert A. Read, *Knight Templar, Knight of the Council of the Trinity, Grand Elect, Perfect, and Sublime Mason.* Delegate from New York.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Thacher, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed to "consider the *nature* and *spirit* of anti-masonry, from the disclosures of Professor Robison and the Abbe Barruel, to the present time; the arguments used by freemasons in support of their institution; and the means resorted to by the fraternity to suppress inquiry into the principles, nature, and tendency of the order;" ask leave respectfully to present the following Report:

The resolution preferred for consideration to your Committee, supposes that ANTI-MASONRY has had an existence for *more than thirty years*. This supposition, your Committee believe to be founded in *truth* and on *substantial evidence*. Although the fraternity have endeavoured to impress upon the public mind, that this is merely an ephemeral excitement, the creature of a party, and created for the sole purpose of accomplishing particular political objects; yet, it is easy to prove, that the seeds of opposition to *all secret societies*, were sown, both in this country and in Europe, long before the Batavian martyr assumed the pen, to reveal the secrets of the order. Indeed, if we go back to the time when these seeds first began to germinate and take root, we shall arrive at the year 1730, about *thirteen years* after the association of speculative masonry was first organized, when Samuel Prichard fully disclosed the secrets of the fraternity. At this time, the institution was in its incipient state; *one* simple *oath* covered the whole of its mysteries; and no one supposed that an organization, apparently so insignificant and unworthy of notice, was ever to become so extensive and powerful as to revolutionize kingdoms, cause the most potent monarchs to tremble upon their thrones, and even to defy "*the world in arms.*" The revelation of Prichard accordingly excited but little interest, although the fraternity, if we may believe the masons themselves, were sufficiently sensitive, and sufficiently faithful to masonic bond, to take the life of its unhappy author.

Some years later than this, and when considerable additions had been made to the rites of freemasonry, appeared another revelation of its secrets, under the well known title of "Jachin and Boaz." The author of this work also, as well as the one who republished it in this country, it has generally been admitted by masons, paid the forfeit of his life, for his temerity in transgressing masonic law.

In consequence of these disclosures, the order and rites of freemasonry were for a time considered contemptible. Young lads frequently appeared in the streets of London, clad in aprons, and adorned with pebles, in mimicry of a class of men, whom they considered supremely ridiculous. By the cunning and falsehood of the craft, however, they succeeded in laughing to scorn these faithful revelations; and by high pretensions and artful management, led a portion of the world to believe, that their institution was very ancient, scientific, moral, charitable, divine, and religious; patronized by all the patriarchs, prophets, wise men, and saints, of old; and that it has conferred greater blessings upon mankind than any other institution on earth, not even excepting the christian religion. The principles of the order had been transplanted into France, Germany, and other kingdoms of Europe, and had begun to take a deep and extensive root even in America. From the commencement of the French revolution, however, some had the sagacity to discern that this deluge of human blood, and the subsequent anarchy of that nation, resulted, not so much from the true spirit of national liberty, as from the principles of *infidelity* extensively propagated in every country of Europe, by means of secret associations. It was seen that deists and atheists availed themselves of the secrets of freemasonry, to disseminate their pernicious doctrines, for the express purpose of revolutionizing every religion and government, then in existence.

Among those who discovered the deleterious influence of such principles, and watched with solicitude these secret operations, were the Abbe Barruel and Professor

Robison; both of whom were freemasons; and, particularly Professor Robison had opportunity to become extensively acquainted with the secrets of the craft. They perceived, that if freemasonry was not originally *intended* to answer the basest designs, and to carry into operation the most pernicious system of means for the subversion of civil and religious rights, it was exactly fitted for the use of infidels and demagogues, and was never calculated to exert any salutary influence upon mankind. Professor Robison, speaking of those baleful principles, which were disseminated under covert of the lodge, says, "I have observed these doctrines gradually diffusing and mixing with all the different systems of freemasonry, till at last, AN ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED, for the express purpose of ROOTING OUT ALL THE RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, AND OVERTURNING ALL THE EXISTING GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE." "In short," says he, "we may assert with confidence, that the mason lodges in France were the hot-beds where the seeds were sown, and tenderly reared, of all the pernicious doctrines which soon choked every moral or religious cultivation, and have made the society worse than a waste, have made it a noisome marsh of human corruption, filled with every rank and poisonous weed."

These views of the masonic institution, as giving rise to the doctrines of the illuminati, induced Dr. Robison and the Abbe Barruel to prepare and publish their different works, which opened the eyes of many to existing evils and dangers, and produced considerable alarm both in Europe and America. In 1798, or 1799, the British parliament passed an act, prohibiting any more than *three degrees* of masonry being conferred in any lodge in the kingdom; and subsequently, provided by statute against the administration of extra-judicial oaths.

When Robison and Barruel began to be read in this country, many intelligent men, both civilians and divines, were awakened to impending danger, filled with fearful apprehensions in view of the rapid growth of freemasonry, and sounded the note of alarm both from the pulpit and the forum. But the masonic fraternity were excited to wrath, and resorted, without delay, to slander and calumny. They followed the example of the illuminees in France and Germany, who appointed *slandering committees* throughout those countries, forestalled the freedom of the press, and vilified the character of every one who presumed to open his mouth, in vindication of the *true* principles of moral and political philosophy.

Although Professor Robison sustained as fair and exalted a character as any other literary man in Europe, it was not to remain unimpeached by members of the masonic fraternity. The following, among other gross slanders, were originated among freemasons, and industriously circulated in different sections of the United States, after the Professor's publication made its appearance in America. In a paper printed at Hartford, September 26, 1799, we are told, "that Robison had lived too fast for his income, and to supply deficiencies, had undertaken to alter a bank bill; that he was detected, and fled to France; that having been expelled the lodge in Edinburgh, he applied in France for the second grade, but was refused; that he made the same attempt in Germany, and afterwards in Russia, but never succeeded; and from this, entertained the bitterest hatred to masonry; that after wandering about Europe for two years, by writing to Secretary Dundas, and presenting a copy of his book, which, it was judged, would answer certain purposes of the ministry, the prosecution against him was stopped, the Professor returned in triumph to his country, and now lives upon a handsome pension, instead of suffering the fate of his predecessor, Dodd." In another paper, Dr. Robison was represented as "a man distinguished by an abject dependence upon a party, by the base crimes of forgery and adultery, and by frequent paroxysms of insanity." These, and other falsehoods of a similar nature, were copied into Boston papers, and other periodicals of the day, and have been reiterated from time to time ever since. The grand lodge of Massachusetts, in a cool and deliberate address to the President of the United States, which they published in their "book of constitutions," did not hesitate to throw out the basest insinuations against the Professor's character.

But those who propagate slander, are not always wise for themselves. Credentials of the highest authority, obtained from Europe, by Dr. Dwight, Dr. Tappan, Dr. Pearson, Dr. Morse, and others, proved the Professor's character to be without blemish, and that he was had in honour and good fellowship with *masons*, till his book appeared before the public. So that even on the ground which masons have taken themselves, and the statements they have made with respect to the Professor's cha-

racter, the publication of his book was, in their mind, a greater offence against their institution, than even forgery and adultery! "Rev. Dr. Erskine, whose character is generally known and respected in America, and who was a neighbour to Dr. Robison, speaking of the forementioned criminations of the Dr's. character, which have been circulated in America, says, 'Had they been sent to Edinburgh for their PALPABLE FALSEHOOD, they would have been *despised* and *detested*.'" "Mr. J. Walker, a respectable inhabitant of Great Britain, referring to the exalted character he had given of Dr. Robison, says, 'Nor is this the exaggerated praise of a friend; no one who knows Mr. Robison as I have known him, and he is almost universally known in Britain, will dare to call it in question.'" Another "of the most respectable literary characters which Scotland has produced," says that, "Professor Robison's character is so well established among those who know him best, that it would be ridiculous in Edinburgh, to call in question his veracity or ability."

In the year 1798, a learned, discreet, and judicious Professor in Yale College, prepared an abstract from the works of Barruel, which he offered for publication in the "Connecticut Courant," printed at Hartford. The Professor succeeded in having *eight* of his numbers inserted, and then the columns of that distinguished paper were closed against him, through masonic influence. Subsequent numbers were forwarded to Boston, and published in the "American Mercury."

In 1798, Rev. Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, Mass. preached and published a sermon, in which he pointed out the dangers of illuminism, the rapid and powerful influence which it was obtaining in this country, and the importance of the American people opening their eyes to impending evils. In this sermon, with notes subjoined, he recommended the extensive circulation, and general perusal, of Robison's "Proofs of a Conspiracy." This gave great umbrage to the freemasons in Massachusetts, and elsewhere, and the Dr. against whom, a syllable of reproach had not before been uttered, was now to be pursued with calumny and abuse, till he should find rest in the grave.

Among those who entered the field of controversy, in opposition to Dr. Morse, was Josiah Bartlett, then grand master of the grand lodge of Massachusetts. He published several numbers in the American Mercury, of 1798, impeaching the motives of Dr. Morse, and spurning, rather than attempting to refute, his arguments. This drew from Dr. Morse, and others, a series of numbers, in the same paper, of the same year, replete with good sense, cool and deliberate, and calculated to convince any candid and judicious man, not prepossessed in favour of the masonic institution, or shackled with masonic oaths. One of the distinguished gentlemen of that day, who deeply interested themselves for the welfare of our country, in relation to this subject, was the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, of Boston. He wrote an able, lucid, and ingenious article, for insertion in the Mercury, in answer to Mr. Bartlett, but the piece was excluded from the columns, through the interference and solicitation of Mr. Bartlett himself. This able document has recently been discovered among the papers of the late Dr. Morse, and has since been published.

This controversy continued for a considerable length of time, and the members of the masonic fraternity were far from withholding any abuse or calumny against either friend or foe, who espoused the cause of anti-masonry.

A writer in the "Mercury," of September 14, 1798, says, "Dr. Morse has been censured as being unfriendly to masonry. The ire of the fraternity has been excited against him, and has prevented that candid perusal of his writings which they deserved."

Another writer in the same paper, December 7, 1798, justly argues, "that the sensitiveness of freemasonry, and their spleen against Robison, Barruel, and Dr. Morse, are calculated to create suspicion. Why should they be so determined to extinguish the light which is shed upon this subject, unless they considered the masonic institution as having an intimate connexion with illuminism."

Another writer of the same year, and same periodical, in vindication of freemasonry, turns into *ridicule* the whole account of Robison, Barruel, and others, and represents the illuminati as genuine *philosophists*.

The author of the celebrated "Worcester charge," so called, who was no less than the late Dr. Bentley, of Salem, Mass. about this time made an elaborate attempt to *vindicate* the *character* and *works* of *Adam Weishaupt*, as a brother mason! In this

essay, published likewise in the Mercury, he speaks of Weishaupt's *important* writings, as the *boast of his age and country!*

This cursory view of the subject convinces your Committee, that anti-masonry was fairly in the field, more than thirty years since, and driven out by the same system of means which was pursued in France, before the revolution, and which has been universally pursued in this country, ever since the "Morgan excitement." They made the same *attempts to muzzle the press there*, that they do now; and as no seceder has ever escaped slander and abuse, so, those who enlisted on the side of truth, and the equal rights and best interests of our country, more than thirty years ago, were treated in the same manner. The same spirit existed in the masonic fraternity at that day, which recently prevailed in the very "cradle of liberty," trampled upon all law, resisted the officers of police, disregarded every degree of decency and order, and succeeded effectually in suppressing for a little season, what, the most of all things, they both hate and dread, THE DIFFUSION OF LIGHT!

Your Committee also find, that the spirit of anti-masonry has never attached itself to any particular sect or party; that it has embraced the *whole science* of moral and political philosophy, and never been either designed or calculated to foster any political faction; but that its great object has been, to secure the equal rights of our common country, and guard *all* our civil and religious privileges, against the power and influence of *secret usurpation.*

In relation to the *arguments* used by freemasons in support of the institution, as alluded to in the resolution, your Committee have not yet been able to find *that they have ever used any!* Freemasons have, indeed, attempted a *show* of argumentation, but it has been merely to vociferate that their institution is *ancient, divine, moral, scientific,* and *charitable;* that all the saints of old were their patrons; and that Washington and Franklin, and all the great and wise men of the world, have been members of their institution. Indeed, your committee have reason to *believe* that "the *arguments* used by freemasons in support of their institution," have generally been like those used by the "craftsmen" of old, when they "cried out, for the space of two hours, *great is Diana of the Ephesians!*"

In view of these facts, and many more, which could not be embodied in a single report, your committee have come to the conclusion, that anti-masonry has been the same in *spirit* and *principle*, from the first disclosures of professor Robison and the Abbe Barruel, to the present time; and that one principal mode of masonic warfare, and the most efficient means, adopted by the masonic fraternity, to suppress the work of investigation, has been a thoroughly organized system of slander and calumny.

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Seward, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee to whom it was referred to make a concise report of the progress and present state of Anti-Masonry throughout the United States, most respectfully submit the following Report:

That the abduction of William Morgan called forth the first general expression of popular opinion against secret societies. That event took place at Batavia, in the county of Genesee, in the state of New York, on the 11th day of September, 1826; just four years before the session of this first National Anti-Masonic Convention. A considerable period elapsed, before the people in the immediate vicinity of that outrage, became sensible of the fact, that freemasonry had commanded and justified the high-handed conspiracy; and a still longer period elapsed, before the iniquitous oaths and obligations of the order became generally known. But finding themselves at length unable to ferret out the conspirators, and becoming at length acquainted with the alarming principles, in accordance with which their fellow citizen had been bereft of liberty and life; a determination was made by the people, in a few of the towns in the counties of Genesee, Monroe, and Niagara, by the exercise of the right of suffrage, to effect the abolition of the institution in whose name and service the daring deed was committed. In the spring of 1827, a few scattering demonstrations of this determination were made at the town meetings. In the fall of 1827, the question was for the first time brought distinctly and with concert to the polls, in the counties of Genesee, Monroe, Livingston, Orleans, and Niagara, in each of which counties the anti-masonic ticket prevailed, and the territory including them, became thenceforth known in masonic language as the "infected district."

In the summer of 1828, a convention of seceding masons was held at Le Roy, in the county of Genesee, by whom the truth of the revelations of freemasonry made by Morgan were affirmed, and a further revelation was made of many of the higher degrees.

In the fall of 1828, the memorable presidential canvass absorbed almost the entire public attention, without the limits of the counties above mentioned and the counties adjacent. Nevertheless anti-masonry, in defiance of, and in opposition to both of the political parties, deposited in the ballot boxes 33,000 votes.

In the month of February 1829, a state convention was held at Albany, in which forty-two counties were represented, and by which this first national convention was recommended. As yet, neither of the political parties had openly declared itself in opposition to anti-masonry, and in many parts of the state, both had vied in caressing it. No sooner had the convention adjourned, than this affected complacency was turned to bitter hate; the present incumbent of the executive chair assumed the duties of his office with a philippic against anti-masonry; that same anti-masonry which, when a judge, he had from the bench declared to be "a blessed spirit," and which he described as the same spirit which had called this nation into existence, and was a pledge that our rights and liberties are destined to endure. From that period, the influence and patronage of the general and state governments have been directed with all their force against anti-masonry. With few exceptions, the leading politicians of all parties, united to suppress the rising spirit of inquiry, and the force of the press was thus brought, for once, by the union of its heretofore discordant conductors, into active opposition to anti-masonry. A concerted and simultaneous attempt was made to stigmatise its supporters, and misrepresent its successes. Pretended victories over the daring intruder were reported to have been gained where no battles had been fought, and fabricated renunciations of anti-masonry were every where published, and its dying agonies were re-echoed in all the masonic papers throughout the state. While to the honour of the anti-masons of the state of New York, it is tated, that in this, the most severe period of trial, they remained true to their cause;

it must be conceded, a very great effect was produced by these systematic efforts of freemasonry, in those parts of the state where anti-masonry had neither papers nor advocates to support and defend it. Nevertheless, the election of 1829, showed that anti-masonry had taken too deep root in the intelligence and patriotism of the people, to be uprooted by the blasts of masonic or political calumny and denunciation. The Hon. Albert H. Tracy was elected to the senate in the 8th district, by a majority of about 8000 votes; thirty anti-masonic members were returned to the house of assembly, and anti-masonry received the glorious testimony of 67,000 votes. The counties of Erie, Niagara, Orleans, Genesee, Livingston, Monroe, Allegany, Cattaraugus, Chautauque, Steuben, Ontario, Wayne, Yates, Seneca, and Washington, were redeemed from the thraldom of freemasonry, and the borders of the "infected district" were extended, from the Niagara river on the west to the Cayuga lake on the east, and from lake Ontario on the north to Pennsylvania on the south.

A state convention was held in February, 1830, in which forty-six counties were represented; the town meetings held in the spring, exhibited a great increase of spirit in behalf of the cause, and an astonishing accession of strength. The struggle in the state of New York has been severe, but always and every where the gain has been in favour of anti-masonry, and the day is not distant when that great state will add to the glory achieved by her great works of internal improvement, that of emancipation from the thraldom of secret societies; and though the waters of the Niagara may not wipe from her escutcheon the stain of the blood shed by masonic violence, she has already added to its glories, that of having been the first in the great work of abolishing secret societies.

So early as in 1827, the subject of the masonic outrages in the state of New York, was spoken of in Pennsylvania; and such was the impression made in that year, upon the minds of some public spirited individuals in the western part of that state, that an effort was made to establish a paper, intended to publish the Morgan affair, and expose the principles of freemasonry. This attempt was abandoned, owing to the difficulties and obstacles which presented themselves among a people, having yet no knowledge of masonic obligations, and having witnessed no practical demonstration of masonic violence.

The friends, however, of truth and equal rights, were not easily to be deterred; but procured from New York, documents detailing the conduct of the fraternity, and the revelation of its principles in that state. Some time afterwards, papers in several counties commenced the publication of the illustrations of masonry. The cause gradually gained friends in several counties, until an attempt at organization was made in June, 1829; twelve counties only appeared in the state convention, which put in nomination a candidate for the office of governor; the election took place in October following, and equally to the astonishment of its friends and the dismay of its opponents, anti-masonry polled for Joseph Ritner, its candidate for governor, 52,000 votes. This contest terminated in the election of Mr. Wolf, a freemason, to the office of governor; but that result was ascribed by many intelligent men, to the want of a general understanding among the friends of anti-masonry. Certain it is, that the party was not then organized throughout the state, and in many counties, it is said, that it was not generally known that there was any opposition to Mr. Wolf; an ignorance which may well be considered probable, without reflecting upon the intelligence of the people, if we take into consideration the especial guardianship which freemasonry assumes over the press. Under these circumstances, the vote received by Mr. Ritner was a cheering result, and augurs a speedy victory. In October, 1829, the Hon. Harmar Denny was elected a member of congress from the Pittsburg district, in opposition to the concentrated energy of the fraternity, by a majority of upwards of 1100 votes. In the month of February, 1830, the first general state convention was held at Harrisburgh. Measures, the committee are assured, were at that time adopted, for a general and efficient organization, and for diffusing information among the people; and so rapid has been the progress of anti-masonry throughout this enlightened and powerful state, that it is believed she will, at the coming election, exhibit a decided majority against secret societies.

In Vermont, anti-masonry became in a small portion of the state a subject of conversation, in 1827. Town meetings were held in March, 1828, in the counties of Orange and Caledonia, and a state convention assembled at Montpelier in August, 1829; that convention put in nomination a candidate for governor, who declined the

favour of the party; nevertheless, anti-masonry gave 7300 anti-masonic votes. A second state convention has been recently held, and the returns now received, bring the gratifying information of an increase probably of not less than fifty per cent. in the vote of anti-masonry. The committee cannot omit to mention their high sense, of the uncompromising firmness and perseverance of the friends of equal rights and anti-masonry, exhibited in this patriotic state, on many occasions, and particularly in the first election of General Cahoone, one year since, a member of Congress from the fifth congressional district, after a canvass of seven ballotings, and his subsequent re-election to the same trust, on the first ballot.

Anti-masonry appeared in the territory of Michigan in the summer of 1828. The first territorial convention was held in February, 1829. From this period anti-masonry has been advancing in most of the peninsular counties. The county of Washtenaw has a majority of anti-masons. It is probable that the same may be said in truth, of Wayne, Oakland, and Lenawee. Monroe, Macomb, and St. Clair, contain a respectable number of anti-masons. The counties on the St. Joseph's and Kalawazoo rivers, on the western side of the peninsula, likewise afford a considerable anti-masonic population. The state of anti-masonry in the upper counties is unknown to the committee. Michigan is now represented in congress, by the Hon. John Biddle, nominated by the anti-masons at their territorial convention.

In the state of Massachusetts, the investigation of freemasonry was first commenced in the county of Bristol, about two years since, by some intelligent and patriotic individuals. In that county the progress of information was such, that at the last April election, the delegation to the senate of the state was wholly anti-masonic, and elected expressly on anti-masonic principles. The Boston Free Press, a firm and vigorous supporter of the cause, was established about two and a half years since. The first public anti-masonic meeting in that city, was held on the 27th of August, 1829, at which time the Suffolk committee were chosen. The valuable researches and investigations of that committee are extensively known to the public. Since that meeting, the cause has progressed with a rapidity unparalleled in any other great city, and Faneuil Hall has again, as in olden time, resounded the acclamations of liberty. No election has, as your committee believe, been had in the county of Suffolk, in which the strength of anti-masonry has been tried. Several towns in this state at the last spring election, returned anti-masonic members to the legislature. A spirit of firmness and unanimity pervades the anti-masonic party throughout the state, and gives promise, that the state first to throw off British tyranny, will not be among the last to break the dominion of secret societies.

The spark of anti-masonry, which fell in the state of New Jersey, in 1827, but lit up the flame of opposition to secret societies. Your committee are satisfied that that patriotic flame has not been extinguished. The information received by the committee, warrants the belief, that the work of anti-masonic reform will be rapid and complete in that state, inferior to none in the union for patriotism and valour.

No general public effort was made in relation to this subject in the state of Connecticut, as your committee understand, until the latter part of the year 1828. A state convention was held in the year 1829, and an organization was effected in many of the counties of that state. The first demonstration at the polls, was made in 1830, when the anti-masonic senatorial candidates received 6000 votes, being about one fourth of the aggregate of senatorial votes in the state. Six anti-masonic senators were elected, and about one fourth of the house of representatives in this state are anti-masonic, and the state exhibited every where a degree of harmony and firmness of purpose, which augur the best results. The committee cannot refrain from stating, as highly honourable to the intelligence of Connecticut, that anti-masonry has advanced in this struggle, thus rapidly and firmly with the aid of, at no time but two, and most of the time but one free press, while twenty-eight presses are arrayed against it.

In Ohio, the first appearance of anti-masonry at the polls, was at the general election in October, 1829, at which time, without any general system of organization, several candidates were put in nomination, and elected altogether on anti-masonic principles. It has, as yet, prevailed mostly in the northern parts of the state: there are anti-masonic presses in the counties of Adams, Knox, Tuscarawas, Harrison, Wayne, Richland, Huron, Portage, Geauga, and Ashtabula; and a few other presses are known, occasionally, to admit anti-masonic articles.

In the counties of Trumbull, Cuyahoga, Medina, Loraine, Seneca, Sandusky, Wayne, Stark, Columbiana, Jefferson, Holmes, and Athens, the subject of anti-masonry has been considerably agitated, and the committee are well assured that anti-masonry has the strength of 40,000 of the freemen of this new, and emulous, and enterprising state.

In Rhode Island the question was never agitated until during the latter part of the last year. A press has been established, a state convention held, and an organization adopted. In no part of the union has there been more commendable zeal and firmness displayed by anti-masons, than in this island state, which is represented as having been peculiarly favoured by the protecting care of freemasonry.

In the state of Maryland, and in the state of Delaware, respectively, public opinion is forming on this subject. Anti-masonry has found there, as every where, a reception in the hearts of men of patriotism and philanthropy. In the distant state of Alabama, it has kindled a flame which burns brightly, and with steadily increasing splendour. In Indiana the cause is destined, from present indications, soon to become an object of paramount regard.

From most of the other states and territories, your committee have no certain information; but it is evident that anti-masonry has every where throughout the union, the hearts and hopes of many good and true men. All past experience warrants the belief, that another year will witness a development of the principles of anti-masonry in every state and territory in the union; and all past experience proves, that so fast as that development is made, just so rapidly freemasonry, with its unlawful oaths, its alarming principles, and blasphemous rites and ceremonies falls before it, and public opinion flows thenceforth in the "natural and healthful channel" of opposition to all secret societies.

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Ellmaker, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed on the subject of nominating candidates for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, to be supported by the anti-masonic party at the next election, report:

The principal object of masonry in the United States for many years, has been the acquisition of political power. This fact cannot have escaped the observation of any one conversant with the political movements, and appointments to office, in the various parts of our union. It is also abundantly proved by the direct testimony of numerous masons of the highest respectability, and greatest experience, who have seceded from the institution, and of some who continue to adhere to it. But all doubt on the subject is banished by the oaths of one or more degrees of the order, whose manifest design and tendency are, to produce a preference of masons, in appointments and elections to office.

The result is, that although the members of the institution do not form, probably, more than one tenth of the voters in the United States, they hold about two-thirds of the offices of trust, profit, and honour, in the general and state governments.

If masonry be thus fortified behind the political patronage and power of the government, where is it to be sought and attacked by those who desire to destroy its baneful influence on morality and religion, and its usurpation of the rights and privileges of the people? It is to be sought where alone it is to be found,—in its intrenchments. Anti-masonry, therefore, is necessarily political.

It is by the hope of advantage, and the expectation of office and undue influence, that the young and the ambitious are drawn into the toils of masonry. Blast this hope, destroy this expectation, and the institution dies.

If these views are correct, it is evident that anti-masonry cannot stop in mid-course, and confine its operations to the state governments; and that its reforming spirit must be extended to the government of the union; and especially to its executive branch. The exertions of the masonic institution, as manifested by the project at the capitol, in March, 1822, to organize a general grand lodge of the United States, have long been directed to the acquisition of the entire control of the extensive patronage of the federal government. The project of organizing that central power, may be for the present moment suspended. It was defeated at the time by the state grand lodges, from their jealousy of a superior power; but it will never be finally abandoned while masonry exists. If it shall ever be executed, the Committee need not say, that from that time the general grand lodge of the United States will exclusively control the presidential election. The electors will be no more than passive instruments to register the decrees issued at Washington. A permanent central power, possessing a perfect organization also of subject societies throughout the union, with sovereign legislation, sworn secrecy, permanent funds, corporate rights in many states, with safe halls for consultation, and penalties of death for disobedience of orders, and the whole avowedly actuated by political purposes, must necessarily engross all power, if it choose to do so. The people under it can be no more than tenants at sufferance. To what degree masonry has already succeeded, in engrossing governmental patronage, opinions vary; but it is known to be alarmingly great. Anti-masonry would be defeated in its efforts to free the land of masonic rule and pollution, unless an able and a decided opponent of masonry be placed in the presidential chair.

The election of president, necessarily excites attention and inquiry throughout the United States. The nomination of a candidate for the suffrages of the people, to be supported on anti-masonic grounds—a candidate who shall receive the united support of those who are openly and decidedly opposed to the domination of mason y,

will force the investigation of the principles and practices of the institution into every district of the United States. Anti-masonry will be more widely extended by one presidential election on anti-masonic grounds, than by many years of exertion through state elections only.

The expediency of selecting candidates for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, to be supported by anti-masons at the next election in 1832, it is presumed, will be apparent to all advocates of equal rights throughout the country. Whether success shall follow at the next, or not till the succeeding election, in 1836, cannot affect the propriety or necessity of the measure.

The next part of the subject submitted to the Committee, is the question of nominating presidential candidates at this time by the convention.

After the most careful consideration, the Committee have arrived at the conclusion, that the nomination should not be made at the present time. The reasons will be briefly adverted to.

1. In this convention all the states are not represented. As every state is deeply interested in the election of president and vice-president, it is in the highest degree desirable that all should participate in the nomination of the candidate for whom all are to vote. The invitation of the state of New York, to the citizens of the United States, to elect delegates to the present convention, was made public in March, 1829, and the period since that time, has been too short to disseminate through the whole union, a knowledge of the dangerous principles and proceedings of the masonic fraternity, and for the regular organization of an anti-masonic party in each state and territory, in opposition to it.

Every member of this convention has seen and felt the difficulty of organizing the opposition to masonry;—arising principally from the controlling influence exerted upon the press by the masonic brotherhood. The states in the vicinity of New York, where the opposition commenced, have been awakened and aroused, and are represented at the present convention. But the people of the west and the south, have not become fully informed of the alarming and tragic scenes on the Niagara, and have not yet ripened their dislike of masonry into a settled and regular political opposition.

There are many of the unrepresented states, in which the Committee believe that a large portion of their citizens, are now prepared to express their decided disapprobation of the institution of freemasonry; but from the want of unshackled presses, and a knowledge of each others' views, they have not yet been able to effect a regular political organization. It is believed that the enlightened citizens of those states not now represented in this convention, will seize the first opportunity to form a systematic political opposition to masonry.

If the election were close at hand—if the candidates must be nominated at the present convention, or not at all, then the necessity of the case might justify, and indeed would require, an immediate nomination by this convention. But no such necessity exists. The choice of electors does not take place till November, 1832. There is sufficient time before the election, to allow the unrepresented states to participate in the nomination of candidates, and yet leave a year or more to elapse between the nomination and the legal period of election.

Under these circumstances, the Committee think it would not be acting with the ordinary amity which the several states owe, and always practise towards each other, and that it would be unjust towards the states, unrepresented in this convention, to nominate presidential candidates, at the present time.

2. The object of anti-masonry, in nominating and electing candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency, is to deprive masonry of the support which it derives from the power and patronage of the executive branch of the United States government. To effect this object, will require that the candidates, besides possessing the talents and virtues requisite for such exalted stations, be known as men decidedly opposed to secret societies. The delay of a year, will enable the people throughout the United States to form an opinion, whether those who may be candidates, are firm and decided anti-masons. Nothing less than entire conviction in the public mind, on this point, can give efficacy and success to any nomination, at a time when the people, with so much reason, are sensitive and jealous of the purity and independence of those whom they may select to administer the government.

The Committee, for these reasons, deem it inexpedient to nominate presidential candidates, at this convention.

The next question for consideration is, the manner of making the nomination.

The Committee are of opinion, that this nomination should be made by another national convention.

The time they propose to fix, at about a year from the present period. The ensuing year will be one fruitful of important occurrences. The spell of masonry is broken, and light is bursting upon the nation. Men, now the least informed on the subject of masonry and anti-masonry, will receive great accessions to their knowledge, from the disenthralled state of the public press, and the rapid march over the country, of free inquiry. Sufficient time will also be allowed to the states not now represented, or not fully represented, to elect delegates to join in the nomination; and, from the information already received, there is reason to believe, that most of those states will cordially and promptly unite at the appointed time, in forming a component part of the nominating convention.

Under these views of the subject, the Committee respectfully submit the following resolution, for consideration and adoption by the convention, viz.:

Resolved, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention, on Monday, the 26th day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates, equal in number to their representatives in both houses of congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of president and vice-president, to be supported at the next election; and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of anti-masonry may require.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Walker, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed on the first day of the session of this Convention, "to consider and report whether an adherence to the oaths and obligations of freemasonry, does or does not, disqualify a man for the impartial discharge of all important offices in the gift of the people, according to the true nature of our institutions," have attended to that subject, and ask leave respectfully and briefly to report:

That from an examination of the oaths of masonry, and a comparison of the same with those requisite for the administration of justice and the discharge of civil trusts, they find that the oaths first mentioned come into direct collision with the latter, and that an *adherence* to masonic obligations *must* and *does* necessarily and absolutely disqualify any man for the faithful discharge of public trusts.

Your Committee are aware that this is a bold assertion, and that it has an important bearing upon the interests of a large class of the community; they believe, however, that it is perfectly correct, and may be demonstrated to the satisfaction of every candid and ingenuous mind. This, your Committee would feel bound to do; but the labour has been saved to them, by the manner in which the subject has already been exhibited in the *address* to the people of the United States, already submitted to this Convention for their adoption.

In that *address* the prominent oaths of masonry were stated, their necessary and certain operation illustrated, and the whole subject presented in strong and convincing light, and sustained by arguments the most cogent and irresistible.

Your Committee, therefore, deem it the work of supererogation, to enter again upon the same field. The work has been done, and well done; and it only remains to your Committee, to express their conviction of the vast importance of the position here assumed, and their full belief that it ought to be recognized, as a *fundamental principle* by which to direct all our efforts for the subversion of the potent and dangerous institutions of freemasonry.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Todd, from the Committee next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed to consider and report the best system of a national correspondence of anti-masons, for the *sole* purpose of diffusing information extensively on the subject of freemasonry, and other secret combinations against the equal rights of mankind and our free institutions, respectfully report:

That the great object of this convention is, to eradicate the evils of freemasonry, and other secret societies. To effectuate this purpose, information of the nature, tendency, and principles of all secret societies, but especially of the masonic institution, must be laid before the world.

After so much has been said, and well said, not only in the reports of the several Committees, but in the remarks and information communicated by members on the floor, your Committee think it unnecessary to detain the Convention by adverting to the evils of the institution, except so far as they necessarily fall under their observation, in the performance of the duty assigned to them.

The first question which presents itself to the mind is, why is a system of national correspondence necessary? To this we answer, that we have to contend with a body of men, whose organization is more perfect than that of any other combination known to your Committee. It has been the boast of masons, that "the world in arms could not put them down;" that their means of communicating intelligence, were at once certain, rapid, and secret.

Although their numbers are comparatively few, yet their union, organization, and secrecy make them both powerful and dangerous. This power is not the result of the purity of their institution, but of their capacity to act in concert, and to shield themselves behind popular names. They dare not, they will not, come out fairly before the people, and defend the principles of their institution. They know full well that those principles cannot be defended. They therefore act under the cover of other names, and thus give strength and power to an institution, rotten at the core, whose principles, when known, are only known to be condemned.

Your committee do not intend to call the attention of this Convention to all the *Proteus* shapes that masonry has assumed. She claims to be of divine origin, to be the handmaid of religion, to be charitable and benevolent, and to have existed for ages. All those pretensions have been met and refuted, by the reports already before the Convention.

Point out the depravity of her principles; she refers to many great and good men whom she has, under specious pretences, seduced into her lodges. Demonstrate that those principles are never so corrupt; she sneers at the information, and gives an evasive reply.

Why is she thus enabled, in this land of light and intelligence, to set public opinion at defiance? It is not her numbers: it is her secrecy, her union, her perfect organization, and the facility with which she communicates information to all parts of the world, that makes her the arbitress in political controversies.

Have masons a candidate whose interest they wish to promote? He is at once, as if by magic, raised into notice, and universally eulogized, although, perhaps, totally undeserving. Honest men mistake this clamour for public opinion, and join in with the cry, and go to the polls, under the impression, that they are supporting the best man and the best principles, when they are merely carrying into effect the determination of the fraternity.

Do masons wish to shield themselves from the investigations of an inquiring public? At once, from Maine to Georgia, the cry is raised, that "Anti-masonry is a mere political manœuvre of the old federal party, against "Jackson and democracy."

Is it necessary to traduce the fair unsullied fame of an individual simultaneously, from every quarter? the voice of slander from a thousand tongues in concert, is raised against him. All that has been said against freemasonry, will apply, to a certain extent, to all secret societies. They are dangerous to all governments, but especially to those that are free. It is matter of astonishment, that a nation so jealous of its liberty, as not to permit even the representatives chosen by the people, to act with closed doors, except on extraordinary occasions, should yet permit within its bosom, a secret society, numbering, at least, 100,000 members, and extending through all the ramifications of society, to meet and act in secret, with a power sufficiently great, to control every measure of the government, and like the pendulum of the clock, regulate, by its vibrations, the whole machinery of the republic.

Against this powerful combination we will employ no weapons, but those of fair, open, and honourable warfare, and none but such as are guaranteed to us by the constitution. Although they have the advantage of concerting their schemes in secret, we feel strong in the goodness of our cause, and we confidently hope, through the blessing of that Being who has hitherto protected our beloved country, finally to succeed, by open measures, in destroying this unhallowed fabric of freemasonry, and raising on its ruins the temple of liberty, whose foundation shall be based on the principle of equal rights.

To act with effect, we must, however, act in concert; for this purpose, and to spread information before the American people, your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That a Committee of correspondence be appointed, whose duty it shall be to correspond with the several state committees, and with individuals in the several states and territories, for the purpose of diffusing information on the subject of freemasonry, and other secret combinations against the equal rights of mankind, and our free institutions, and that said Committee have power to appoint one of their number to act as corresponding secretary.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Anti-masons of the several states and territories, who have not already done so, to appoint state committees, as soon as practicable, and that those states and territories who have such committees, forward, without delay, the names of the individuals composing them, to the national Committee, that they may be published with the proceedings of this convention.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Anti-masons of the several states and territories, where it is not already done, to appoint county, township, ward, and town committees, and to forward, without delay, lists containing the names of those appointed to their respective state committees.

Resolved, That the members of the several state committees, shall be deemed and considered as members of the national committee of correspondence, and whenever present at its sittings, entitled to vote and take part in its deliberations.

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Maynard, from the Committee appointed to inquire into the effect of freemasonry on the Christian religion, presented the following report:

Religion is the most precious gift of God to man. It unfolds his earthly relations and duties, and discloses the source of all his hopes and consolations. It teaches the connexion between imperfect intelligences, and the Almighty Being who created the universe by the word of his power, and governs it in infinite wisdom.

It reveals the momentous truth, that the soul of man is destined to survive the wreck of all material things, and to live beyond the grave. That when "the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth shall be burned up, and the heavens shall be rolled together like a scroll," the soul of man will have entered upon an existence of interminable duration.

It sustains man amidst the vicissitudes and calamities of life; draws aside the curtains of eternity; illumines his melancholy path through the vale of death, and inspires him with the hopes of beatitude in the world of future being.

Involving, as religion does, the dearest interests of earth, and the only hope of heavenly blessedness, it is natural that every thing which may impair its influence, contaminate its doctrines, or impede its progress, should excite the liveliest sensibilities of immortal beings. Freemasonry cannot be indifferent in its effects upon that holy cause. It is too important in itself, too ramified in its connexions, and too powerful in its influence over the minds of its votaries, to be entirely without effect upon this, the greatest and holiest subject that demands the employment of the human faculties.

It must exert an influence for good or for evil. Its tendencies cannot be regarded with indifference. The pertinency of the inquiry becomes manifest, and its importance cannot be overrated.

Religion has had many improper connexions. Wickedness has often sought its mantle to veil unholy designs. It is not without example that freemasonry should seek its alliance. Every subtle machination against human happiness, or civil liberty, and every mighty effort for the oppression of mankind, has covered and characterized its designs with the sanctity of religion. Christianity has been made to aid the advancement of the most unholy purposes, and the gratification of the most pestilent of human passions. Its benign influences have been perverted to promote schemes of stupendous wickedness and of monstrous oppression. It has been used to infuse malice into the heart of bigotry, nerve the arm and kindle the fires of persecution, and prop the throne of tyranny.

In view of the abominations which the perversion of religion has produced, who can forbear to exclaim, Oh, Christianity! what horrid enormities have been perpetrated in thy name!

Man is a religious being. In despite of stoical or impious philosophy, he regards the Author of creation with awful reverence. So powerful is the influence of religion over the human mind, that it has been made the instrument of its government. This has proved effectual, when all things else have failed. No scheme of policy, no plan for social improvement, no system of government would be regarded with approbation, or even indifference, if it were manifestly hostile to religion.

So deeply impressed was the author of illuminism, who in propensity, if not in ability for tremendous mischief, was little less than "arch-angel fallen," of the influence of religion over the human disposition, that he invented what he called a priests' degree, and made it a part of that system designed avowedly for the overthrow of all social, political, and religious establishments. He seemed to enjoy a fiend-like pleasure at the success of his subtle effort. He lured Christians into his society, and acquired from their professions and characters, a reflected sanctity upon designs the most inhuman, perverse, and impious. When a Protestant divine who

had been enticed into his fraternity, declared the opinion that that blasphemous degree expressed the true meaning of Christianity, he exclaimed with rapturous delight, "Oh man, man, to what mayest thou not be persuaded! Who would ever have thought that I was to be the founder of a new religion?"

The astonishment we feel at the infatuation and violence which freemasonry seems to have infused into dispositions the most amiable, and the dominion which it apparently exerts over minds, enlightened, vigorous, and powerful, may experience some abatement from the reflection, that nearly eighteen centuries of the Christian era, passed away before there was, in any part of Christendom, a perfect establishment of religious liberty. Before, the doctrine was embraced, by any large community, that no earthly power possesses a right to control the conscience of man; that for his errors of faith or of worship, he is amenable only to the great Father of his spirit. But civil rulers in league with ecclesiastical functionaries, in the pride of power, and arrogance of wisdom, prescribed a creed of faith, and condemned to banishment, or torture, or death, the hapless being "who dared to believe or to doubt, a little more or a little less," than the standard which bigotry and tyranny had erected. Thus was formed and for centuries continued, that adulterous connexion between church and state; a baleful union, always barren of good and prolific of evil. This alliance filled the world with desolation. It broke up communities, pursued the sincere adorers of God in their wanderings, and traced them by their prayers and their worship into their places of refuge. It drenched the fairest portions of the globe with human blood, arrayed Christian against Christian, with the name of the Saviour on his lips, and vengeance in his heart, and caused him to exclaim at every triumph over his brethren in the Lord, in the sentiment, if not the language of the impious Mahometan, "*Allah Acbaz*," "God is victorious."

It was not until liberty had found an abode in this favoured land, that the human mind was emancipated from error, prejudice, and bondage. That the rights of conscience were defined, established, and secured; that religion was redeemed from the slavery of power, freed from the contamination, and delivered from the dangers of that unholy alliance; that virtue, its constant handmaid, was enlarged from the dungeon, where priests and tyrants had confined her; and set free, with all her attractive loveliness, to cheer, console, adorn, and bless mankind.

It may not be inappropriate to the occasion, to indulge the reflection that we are now pursuing our deliberations in a city, whose foundations were laid by an illustrious personage, whose long, and peaceful, and glorious life was devoted to the augmentation of human happiness, and whose services were greatly instrumental in the establishment of the principles of free inquiry, the rights of conscience, and of religious liberty. This delightful city, the fair work of his hands, consecrated to liberty and benevolence, and which now constitutes so essential an adornment of our country, is unimportant, in comparison with his labours in the cause of humanity, freedom, and religion; which will render him an everlasting benefactor of the human race. He was one of those rare beings, who constitutes an epoch, and impresses his character upon the times in which he lives. This city may vanish from the face of the earth, but his usefulness and his fame will endure for ever; for wisdom and virtue are immortal. He yet lives by his works, and exerts an extended influence upon human condition. A spark from the altar of liberty erected in the wilds of America, has kindled a flame in Europe which now shines with its pristine purity and lustre, in that most wonderful and glorious of all revolutions, recently achieved in one of its fairest kingdoms. Let us imbibe the benignant spirit of this friend of man. And while we pursue the great objects of our inquiry with his meek boldness, and his mild but firm determination, may we emulate his singleness of purpose, his purity of motive, and his expansive charity.

It is in accordance with the history of frail man, that freemasonry should seek sanctity, by an alliance with religion. It seems to have done so. If the fraternity cannot claim the appellation of a "peculiar people," it has a kingly government, and a "royal priesthood." The order exhibits in its structure, the odious union of civil and ecclesiastical power. It displays the alternate exercise of sovereign authority, and the performance of the duties of the altar. It blends the holiest ceremonies of religion with the most revolting of human follies.

It parades its mystic symbols, in profane performances, as the emblems of great and dread realities. Freemasonry has a creed, but it is not the creed of any denomi-

nation of the worshippers of God. Unlike all, and yet equally adapted to every faith; except, perhaps, only in the degree of knight templar, there is no recognition of the Redeemer. Other than that degree, the creed of freemasonry is equally the faith of all, and the faith of none of the children of men, who acknowledge a Supreme Being. It is not Christianity, or the handmaid of it, but an impious substitute for it. By estranging the mind from the doctrines of the gospel, it inevitably prepares its chambers for the lodgement of infidel principles. It harmonizes as well with the tenets of the Jew, the Pagan, and the Mahometan, as with those of the humble follower of Christ.

The idolatrous Persian, who prostrates himself in blind adoration before the sun, and worships it as the source of light, and life, and intelligence; the wild son of the forest, who loads his altar with victims, mingles his unintelligible adorations with the precious incense, as it ascends to the Great Spirit, and consoles himself with the delusive expectation of the country beyond the hills; the Pagan, who flies to the Ganges, and hopes in its sacred waters, rather than in the exhaustless fountain of redeeming grace, to wash away the pollutions of his soul; the Turk, who kneels at a mosque, lays his hand on the koran, and says, "Allah, there is but one God, and Mahomet is his apostle;" the descendant of Abraham, who reposes in undiminished faith, upon the future advent of the Messiah, embrace the creed of freemasonry, with the same cordiality and confidence, as the believers in Christ, who rest their only hopes of redemption and heavenly felicity, upon the merits of the atonement.

Does freemasonry aid the cause of religion, or is religion made to sanctify the abominations of freemasonry? There is an attempted connexion, and it cannot be without object or effect. Religion, heaven-born, suffers from every earthly contact, and every impure alliance. Is it possible, that the indecent ceremonies of freemasonry, its abominable oaths, its horrid penalties, its impious oblations, its blasphemous personification of the Deity, can be acceptable in the eyes of infinite purity? It is a formidable objection to freemasonry, that it attempts a connexion with religion, and presents, in miniature, to the view of the American people, the abhorred union of church and state, revolting to the feelings of every freeman, and condemned by every principle of republicanism.

In estimating its probable effect upon religion, its secrecy begets suspicion. Christianity seeks publicity, and rejects concealment. It was the complacent declaration of our Saviour, that all his acts, his teachings, his sermons, his communications, his miracles, were open and public, and his emphatic asseveration, "In secret have I said nothing." This is the nature and spirit of his religion.

How, then, can that spirit delight in secrecy, and wrap itself in darkness? Innocence seeks no cover; shame and crime cry, "come night," and shroud us in the "blanket of the dark." Is there a Christian clergyman between the poles, who would pass the ceremonies, and take upon himself the obligations of freemasonry, in open conference in presence of his church? How, then, dare he do it in presence of his God? Is his awe of Omniscience increased by the all-seeing eye, one of the emblems of the order? Or is all sense of accountability banished from the mind, by the imposing, terrifying, and overpowering nature of the ceremonies? The influence of Christianity is greatly exerted by its distinguished professors. The clergy have a commanding power in all matters appertaining to the discharge of social and moral duty. Their approbation is favour, their example a guide to the world. All who regard the welfare of mankind, experience delight at the fact, and appreciate the value of their influence. Our social system requires it. Patriotism, while it would exclude them from affairs of state, and debar them from all employments, purely secular or political, and devote them to the duties of their holy vocation, the "cure of souls," would not seek to diminish, but strive to increase, their moral and religious influence.

Freemasonry, like every other subtle scheme for worldly aggrandizement, has sought to sanctify itself, by embracing in its brotherhood many worthy ministers of the gospel. It presents them conspicuously among its titled dignitaries, and makes an ostentatious display of its chaplains. It arrays them at its festivals, and boasts of its power in the pulpit.

That "pulpit,
"Which, in its legitimate and sober use,
"Shall stand recorded while the world shall stand;
"The most effectual guard, support, and
"Ornament of virtue's cause."

The fact of such membership has had, and still exerts a powerful influence, in sustaining the order. It is natural and proper that it should be so. The just reverence we feel for the characters and offices of those, "whose doctrines and whose lives co-incident, exhibit lucid proof, that they are honest in the sacred cause," restrains us from the belief that they can be partakers in scenes of indecent folly, or of atrocious impiety. We struggle against the evidence, and are prone to reject it, from horror at the admission of the consequences. It is confidently believed, that the fact, that clergymen and Christians are members of the fraternity, now constitutes the chief support of the order. If they were to abandon the institution, it would soon cease to exist. They now constitute its vitality. Deprived of the savour of their influence it would immediately perish. One of the bad effects of freemasonry, now to be apprehended, is the diminution of the useful, wholesome, religious influence of the clergy. Before the recent disclosures, there was less danger, because the inconsistency between their Christian professions, and their masonic practices, was unknown to the world. But now it is revealed and manifest. With what hope of effect or success, could a masonic clergyman address an assembly upon the great subjects of profanity, impiety, and blasphemy? The thought would immediately rush to the minds of his hearers; "you have entered a lodge in the attire of a malefactor, taken God's name in vain in horrible oaths, shocking to all moral sense, drank wine out of a human skull, imprecated damnation on your soul, with double vengeance, in case of the violation of an impious obligation, and witnessed the personification of the great "I am that I am," in the imposing scene of the burning bush, when Jehovah commanded the chosen leader of Israel, "to put off his shoes from his feet, for the ground on which he trod was holy." "Physician heal thyself," would be the spontaneous, irrepressible reply of every heart.

Freemasonry produces a mental slavery. That man is a slave whose mind is not free. It is in vain that he may enjoy "light and life and the use of his own limbs," if his soul is in bondage. He who is bound to secrecy on certain subjects, and to one class of his fellow men, by unknown ties, which do not exist between him and others, is unreasonably a slave. Other men, men of discordant principles and views, have power over his faculties, and in proportion to his subjection to the association, he is in bondage, and becomes a mere, perhaps, a dishonourable machine.

Time will not permit a more particular or ample delineation of the solemn ceremonies of religion, which freemasonry blends with its ridiculous and profane exercises. It is the less necessary, because every important report, made to the convention, abounds in statements which fully illustrate them, and point directly to the deplorable effects, which familiarity with them must have upon the mind, to estrange it from the influences of religion.

While we "state in sorrow, not in an anger," the fact that clergymen and other professed Christians are members of the fraternity, and now afford its main support, in another view, we regard it with delight, as furnishing the grounds of consolation and hope.

Few clergymen, it is believed, ever sought admission. They have been lured in by beguiling promises of advantage, and flattering through delusive hopes of more extended usefulness in their holy vocation. To have become a freemason, with good motives, is a misfortune, not a crime. It may, indeed, be questionable, whether the petition the candidate is required to present, that he is not influenced by curiosity, is always in exact accordance with truth. Whether so or not, can be known only to the searcher of hearts. As that declaration is made without other knowledge of freemasonry than the brethren are pleased to give, the departure from truth, if any there be, can only be ascribed to the influence of the institution. As the candidate may be fairly presumed to believe the institution virtuous and useful, his motives in becoming a member, are not liable to impeachment. A continued adherence to the institution, after its impurities are shown, and its abominations are proved, presents a far different aspect.

Many Christians yet continue their membership. Considerations, the force of which it is difficult to appreciate, have hitherto held them to their allegiance. Let us regard them in all charitableness, with a deep and abiding consciousness, that the same omniscient Being who will adjudge them for their adherence to freemasonry, will also adjudge us for our treatment of them.

As the institution craved their admission, and now relies upon their membership

for sustentation, it is a natural presumption, that it should make vast efforts to retain them. We may not be sensible of the number, variety, or power of the inducements that may be presented to their minds, or addressed to their feelings. We may not know how the question may be connected with other questions of duty. As we cannot fully appreciate the power of the temptation to remain, we cannot duly estimate the strength of mind, the energy of character, or the sense of duty, required to overcome it.

We cannot resist the belief, that they will now regard the question in the new aspect in which it is presented, and that the convictions of conscience will finally prevail over all other considerations, and produce their voluntary abandonment. We are strengthened in our confidence, by the example of the many distinguished individuals of the clerical vocation, who have already emancipated themselves from the thraldom in which they had been so long bound, and now labour with such commendable zeal and rare ability, to free the land from an institution so full of abominations and dangers.

Many other distinguished ornaments of the church, without any practical knowledge of freemasonry, convinced by the recent disclosures of its irreligious nature and tendency, have engaged, with an ardour inspired by the importance of the subject, in disseminating the light of truth, and in warning the world, that those who would eschew evil, should be aware of the fascinations of this deceptive order.

Christians of such benign intents, and high and holy purpose, want no promptings but their own sense of duty, their anxiety for the salvation of souls, and their reverence for their God. In the spirit and charity of the gospel, they invite the attention of their brethren in the church, who belong to the fraternity, and address them in the language of infinite condescension, "Come, let us reason together." Calm and deliberate discussion, conducted in the spirit of brotherly love, will awaken investigation, quicken a sense of duty, give force to its impulse, and produce the results which truth requires. Let us not censure the hesitation, or chide the tardy action of Christians who are yet members of the institution; but invite their attention, and leave them to the influence of time and their own reflections. The example of others will not be lost upon them. They will not be unmindful of the memorable act of a beloved brother, the thread of whose spotless and useful life, was recently and prematurely cut; whose gentle spirit, too pure for earth, took a sudden and early flight to heaven. Yet not till it had raised its warning voice against the pretensions, character, and tendency of this institution. "Oh my soul! come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly, mine honour be not thou united." "It is enough for me to know, that masonry is *anti-christian* and *impious*, and no man henceforward shall put me in the catalogue of clergymen abetting masonry." (a) A tremendous responsibility rests upon masonic clergymen. The continuance or speedy destruction of the order, is in their power. Let us indulge the animating hope, that whatever considerations may restrain their immediate action, convictions of their Christian duty will ultimately prevail. Let us not forget that we oppose the masonic institution, not its members, only as they adhere to and uphold it. Against them we indulge no hostile feeling. Who are they? Men like ourselves, not less virtuous, gifted, or patriotic; "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh," our kindred, companions, and friends, with whom "we delight to take sweet converse, and walk to the house of God in company."

Many of them are masons of only three degrees, and as ignorant of the unrevealed iniquity of the institution, until recently, as those who never passed the threshold of a lodge. They have not been partakers in word or deed, in its late abominations. In the perpetration of those outrages, it was the institution that sinned, by the infatuation it produces, and not its members as individuals. It is to that, and not to them, that the shade of Morgan points, with a clay-cold, but unerring hand; and, like the ghost to Richard on Bosworth field, cries in a voice that should harrow up the soul: "thou art my murderer, despair and die."

The views we have taken, inspire and justify a confidence, that the Great Head of the church, who has always extended to it his signal protection, rescued it from innumerable perils, purified it in his own time and manner, is moving the hearts of his children to an investigation of the very subject propounded in the resolution. Nothing more is necessary. Attention and inquiry will produce benign results. Those who put their trust in God need not fear but he will deliver his church from the lurking dangers of this imposture.

(a) J. S. Christmas.

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION.

Mr. Seward, on behalf of Mr. Ellmaker, from the Committee, next hereafter mentioned, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sentiments of this Convention, on the subject of freemasonry, respectfully report the following

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, the revelations which have been made and published of the secret obligations, rites, and ceremonies of the society of freemasons, are true.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, founded upon the most thorough investigation, not only of historical facts, but also of masonic tradition, the institution of freemasonry originated in the city of London, in the early part of the last century.

Resolved, That the oaths of freemasonry are neither legally, morally, nor religiously obligatory.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, an actual adherence by freemasons to the principles contained in the obligations of the order, is inconsistent with the higher and paramount duties which they owe to the state, and is a disqualification for offices of public trust.

Resolved, That the organization and principles of the society of freemasons, are inconsistent with the genius of our republican institutions.

Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the people, to abate the evils of freemasonry, in the same manner as under our free institutions all other great moral and political evils are abated; by the exercise of the right of suffrage.

Resolved, That the political character of freemasonry is established in the clearest manner, by the direct testimony of numerous freemasons of the highest respectability, who have seceded from the institution, and by their publication of a masonic appeal, made to the fraternity of Massachusetts by the grand master of the grand lodge of that state, in favour of a candidate for governor of that state who was a freemason, in preference to the opposing candidate, who was not a freemason; and that such political character is in entire accordance with the letter and spirit of several of the degrees of the order.

Resolved, That the whole history of freemasonry, and that of the United States for the last thirty-five years, and more especially for the last four years, demonstrate that the institution of freemasonry has rendered the press in the United States subservient to its will; that it is a plain principle of politics, that no society of men ought to exist among us, which can directly or indirectly, abridge the freedom of the press; and that when such abridgment does take place, there is no remedy for the evil, but the appeal to the people, in the exercise of the elective franchise.

DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS

IN THE

UNITED STATES

ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION,

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, SEPTEMBER 11, 1830.

THE UNITED STATES ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION assembled in the city of Philadelphia, on Saturday, the eleventh day of September, 1830, and organized themselves in the District Court Room, at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut-streets.

On motion of Mr. WHITTLESEY, of New-York, JOSEPH RITNER, Esq. of Pennsylvania, was called to the chair, and JOHN CLARKE, of the city of Philadelphia, appointed Secretary, pro tempore.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the names of the delegates to the Convention from the several states represented in that body, commencing with those from New-York. Upon counting them over, it appeared that 26 delegates from New-York, 15 from Massachusetts, 8 from Connecticut, 5 from Vermont, 2 from Rhode Island, 25 from Pennsylvania, 7 from New-Jersey, 1 from Delaware, 5 from Ohio, 1 from Maryland, and 1 from the Territory of Michigan—in all 96, were present.

On motion of MR. WHITTLESEY,

Resolved, That this convention be organized by the appointment of one President, four Vice-Presidents, and two Secretaries.

MR. WHITTLESEY then said, that at an informal meeting this morning of the delegates, or a major part of the delegates to the convention, a committee, of which he had been designated as chairman, had been appointed, for the purpose of nominating suitable persons to fill the several offices in this body. He, therefore, nominated FRANCIS GRANGER, Esq. of New-York, as the President of the Convention. The nomination being unanimously confirmed,

MR. GRANGER made a few remarks complimentary to the respectability and importance of the convention, and admonitory of the propriety of its proceedings being marked by a cool deliberation and dignity, which, while they would secure the general respect of the community, would, at the same time, show its firmness of purpose. To us, said he, have been confided the dearest interests of the American character, and by our proceedings ought that character to be preserved as pure as the virtue of patriotism. Relying for support in the chair, upon the kind partiality which had placed him there, he should cheerfully enter upon its duties, and discharge them to the best of his ability.

JOSEPH RITNER, of Pennsylvania, ABNER PHELPS, of Massachusetts, ROBERT HANNA, of Ohio, and SAMUEL W. DEXTER, of the Territory of Michigan, were then nominated and elected as Vice-Presidents of the convention; and JOHN CLARKE, of Pennsylvania, and NOBLE D. STRONG, of Connecticut, as Secretaries.

The convention being thus organized, it was opened with a prayer from the Rev. Mr. Thacher, one of its members.

On motion, a committee of one member from each state and territory represented in the convention was appointed by the President. To give this committee time to make their report, an adjournment took place till four o'clock this afternoon.

At four o'clock, the convention re-assembled in the District Court Room. SAMUEL P. LYMAN, of Massachusetts, and NATHANIEL B. BOILEAU and ALEXANDER PLUMMER, of Pennsylvania, additional members, appeared, and took their seats. These accessions made the whole number of delegates 99.

Mr. PHELPS, from the committee appointed to lay before the convention the subjects proper for its consideration, reported certain resolutions, which, after a little desultory discussion upon one or two of them, and after those were modified, were adopted.—[See the Resolutions at length, in the Journal.]

Another resolution, appointing a committee to report the evidences of the truth of the disclosures in Bernard's "Light on Masonry," was reported and adopted. But Mr. WARD, of New-York, moved its reconsideration, and offered a substitute, the object of which was to limit the inquiries of this committee, to the degrees above those which may be known to any member of the convention. He did not perceive the utility of investigating the truth of the disclosures on the degrees known to the seceding masons in this convention, who had been already appointed a committee to report an outline of free-masonry, as far as they were initiated into it, and to certify its truth under their own hands.

Mr. PHELPS, of Massachusetts, Mr. IRWIN and Mr. TODD, of Pennsylvania, rather favored the original resolution. It was finally adopted, and the substitute disagreed to.

Mr. SEWARD, of New-York, objected to the second resolution, as originally reported by the committee: [for the introduction of honorary members.] He considered it to be too broad. It might admit a great number of persons, who were not delegates, to seats in the convention, and lead to controversies which it ought to be the object of the convention to avoid. He thought that the delegates sent here were competent to perform the duties assigned to them; that they should be guided by the light of their own minds, rather than to seek that of others, and that no benefit could be derived from the admission of other persons than delegates into this body. He moved the reconsideration of the resolution, and the motion was carried.

The resolution being now taken up, Mr. PHELPS said, that the resolution was an instruction to a committee, simply to *consider* the expediency of admitting such and such persons into the convention. Several gentlemen of high character, who were not delegates, but who might afford material aid, were present in this city. Among them, there was one from North Carolina. He was not a delegate, because there were not enough anti-masons in his state to elect a delegate. He had no wish, in coming into the convention, to vote, but to obtain information, and take it back with him to light up the flame of anti-masonry, in the great state of North Carolina.

Mr. SEWARD said, that he was satisfied with the explanation of the chairman of the committee, and, with a modification, which he would submit, he would agree to the resolution. He then modified it as it appears among the resolutions in the Journal, and it was adopted accordingly.

Mr. WHITTLESEY wished a reconsideration of the resolution, to inquire into the effects of masonry in regard to religion. In relation to the evil tendency of free-masonry to the cause of religion, the convention ought to have nothing to do. That should be left to judicatories and conventions of a religious character. So far as masonry was fraught with evils to morals, to government, and to man in his social condition, as he believed it was, he was for investigating it, and no farther. With these views, he moved the rejection of the resolution.

Two or three gentlemen made remarks in reply to Mr. Whittlesey. They considered the subject of free-masonry as important in its effects upon religion, as upon morals or government. It was improper to draw a distinction between them. The love of country and of God, was the same. The interests of religion and of the state were the same.

Finally, the resolution was recommitted.

Mr. HOLLEY, of New-York, moved that when the convention adjourned, they should adjourn to the saloon of the Musical Fund Society. The committee informally appointed by a voluntary meeting of several members of the convention, previous to its organization, of which he was chairman, had ascertained that the saloon could be had for the use of the convention, for 200 dollars, and they had engaged it accordingly. HE HELD IN HIS HANDS A LEASE OF THAT ROOM FOR THE USE OF THIS CONVENTION. The hall, with all the requisite accommodations for the convention, could be obtained by ten o'clock on Monday morning. It was capable of holding 1500 persons. The convention accordingly adjourned to that place and time.

Monday, Sept. 13.

Agreeably to adjournment, the convention assembled at the Saloon of the Musical Fund Society. Four additional delegates appeared and took their seats. The whole number now amounted to 103.

The committees appointed in conformity to the resolutions adopted on Saturday, were announced from the chair.—[See the names in the Journal.]

Mr. DENNY, from the committee to whom the subject was referred, reported a set of rules and orders for the regulation of the proceedings and debates of the convention. The report was adopted without amendment.—[See the Journal.]

On motion of Mr. STRONG, a committee of three was appointed to receive daily, the doings of the convention from the Secretaries, and to see that they were correctly prepared for publication.

Mr. IRWIN, of Pennsylvania, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to inquire and report concerning the effect of the ties and obligations of free-masonry upon the commerce and revenue of the United States.

Mr. Irwin, in submitting this resolution, said, that if the information which he had received on the subject were correct, smuggling and piracy were favoured by the tendency of the masonic obligations, and partiality often shown to masters and commanders of vessels, who were members of the fraternity. The subjects of commerce and revenue, and of smuggling, had occupied the attention of all our statesmen; and this inquiry might result in facts, which would call for the consideration of the national legislature.

The resolution was agreed to; and it was referred to a committee, of whom Mr. Irwin is chairman.

Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, presented a communication from Samuel G. Anderton, addressed to the convention, the object of which was to confirm, in the most solemn manner, the truth of an affidavit which he some time ago gave, on the subject of the alleged horrid oaths and obligations of masonry, and of certain enormities committed under their influence. Before the letter was read through, Mr. Ruggles moved its reference to a committee, to consider whether it was a proper letter to be read. The reference was accordingly made; and Mr. Ruggles subsequently reported favourably to the reading, and, at a still later hour, in favour of putting the letter on the journals.—[It was so ordered, and the letter will be found in the appendix to the Journal.]

Mr. Curtenius submitted the following resolution, which, after objections to its expediency by Mr. Slade, Mr. Walker, and Mr. M'Culloch, was laid on the table for the present.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to consider and report the most expedient time, place, and manner, for making nominations of candidates for the offices of President *and* Vice President *of the United States.*

Mr. Middleswarth, of Pennsylvania, suggested the convenience and propriety of the delegation from each state sitting together in the convention. Questions might arise, upon which it would be desirable for the delegates of a state to consult together.

Mr. M'Culloch objected to this arrangement, considering it improper, and calculated to foster sectional or local views.

At the instance of Mr. Hopkins, the subject was postponed for the present.

Mr. Sweet, of New-York, offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That a committee be raised to inquire into the pecuniary circumstances and situation of the family of Capt. William Morgan, and to report what measures, if any, should be adopted for their support.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, thought that this convention, as such, had nothing to do with the family of Capt. Morgan. The abduction and murder of that individual, did not constitute the basis of anti-masonry. That was perhaps a providential circumstance in its favour. The investigation and proceedings of the convention in regard to free-masonry, should be coolly and dispassionately conducted. This resolution would be looked upon as intended to inflame the feelings and passions, rather than to appeal to the judgment; to excite the sympathies, rather than open the eyes, of the people, on the subject of masonry.

Mr. Sweet said, he had not offered the resolution for the purpose of exciting the public feeling, nor of adding to the excitement which already existed. He thought the inquiry, however, due to the cause in which they were engaged, and to which Captain Morgan fell a martyr. His wife was of feeble constitution and needed support. Many gentlemen in New-York had contributed to it; and he thought that the subject was worthy of the consideration of the convention.

Mr. Read, of New-York, could not perceive that the resolution was calculated to lead the public mind astray. If the family of Captain Morgan had no more claim to our support than others, they had to our sympathies. Some states had given something to the relief of this distressed family; others had not; and he seemed to be of the opinion, that the object was one worthy of the attention of the convention.

Mr. M'Culloch, of New-Jersey, said that the object of the convention was to prevent future mischiefs from the influence of free-masonry and not to remedy the past. He considered the resolution as Quixotic.

Mr. Barlow, of Massachusetts, observed, that individual contributions for the support of Captain Morgan's wife and family, had been given to a considerable amount: they could and would still be resorted to. It would be travelling out of the way for this convention to take up the subject. He hoped that the resolution would not prevail.

Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts, thought it inexpedient to adopt such a resolution. Great sympathy has justly been felt for the fate of this lady's husband, who had fallen a martyr in a most glorious cause. His name had been immortalized. But it would be more proper for a future convention, still more national, to take up this subject. Great burdens, a great sacrifice of time and money, had been and would be incurred by those who came to this convention. As an individual, he hoped that the family would receive support. In Massachusetts, something had been done. He had no fear of excitement; but he hoped that the resolution would not prevail.

Mr. Cooke, of New-York, had made it his business to become acquainted with the family of Captain Morgan. He had witnessed their distress: he had witnessed the withdrawal from them of all masonic aid. The question was, whether this convention, as a body, would come forward? He hoped, however, that the question would be waived for the present.

The resolution was rejected.

Mr. Taylor, of New-York, moved the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to make inquiry as to the influence of free-masonry on the public press, and whether it be expedient to adopt any measures, in relation thereto.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, called for the reasons which induced the gentleman from New-York to offer this resolution.

Mr. Taylor said, he could not be expected to go largely into an explanation of his own resolution at this time; but as an honourable gentleman had requested it, he would express a few views upon the subject, although he was aware, that in touching the public press he should touch a hornet's nest.

It was my fortune, said Mr. T. to reside near the place from which Morgan was taken, and to learn the course pursued by the presses in that section of country, as well as the course which the public press has taken, upon the general subject of free-masonry. And I am bound to say, for it is a fact, that in those parts of the country where I have been particularly acquainted, the press has been muzzled by free-masonry: I do not say it was always *directly* by free-masonry; though in some cases I know it has been so. Directly or indirectly, free-masonry has controlled the press.

The conductors of the periodical papers have been kept under an influence arising from the power of patronage. The fear of losing patronage has paralyzed the press. There are other causes which have operated to a very great extent. The presses not actually conducted by masons, have been muzzled by friends, by the influence of individuals belonging to the institution; insomuch, that the facts in relation to Morgan's fate, have not, to this day, had a general circulation. I know that to this very day, many people have, through this same influence, been kept ignorant of all that has transpired in relation to this institution. I do not now say that it is in our power to do any thing upon the subject, and therefore the resolution is couched in such language as to leave it for the committee to report what may be expedient. But it is within the knowledge and recollection of all or many, that papers have been muzzled, and their influence paralyzed; and it seems to me proper that this convention should do something; though it is not my wish to encroach upon the rights of the committee appointed for laying out the business of the convention.

Mr. Hopkins, from New-York, said, that he was not now prepared to lay before the convention, at length, the views which he should entertain upon this subject. But the occasion called upon him now to say, that, in his opinion, no more important or legitimate subject of consideration could come before the convention. Sir, said the speaker, the question of the public press in this country, is virtually the question of public liberty.

Whoever will refer to the history of this nation for the past, may perceive that the conduct of the periodical press in relation to masonry, is a phenomenon; a case entirely new and peculiar. From the beginning of all our recollections until this moment, there has never been any other case of an outrage, any way considerable, that has not been resounded in the public papers from one end to the other of this immense empire. Every accidental death, every riot, or burglary, and especially every murder, is caught up, and circulated with eager diligence. Take a recent example.

A profligate banker from England runs away with the money of those who had trusted him, and hides himself in a remote corner of the South. His injured creditors follow and arrest him, and bring him to New-York, which is not exactly according to legal form. But in his arrest he is treated with all imaginable delicacy; he travels like a gentleman; arrived at New-York, he is lodged in a palace, caressed and followed; is defended by the most eminent counsel; becomes a subject of public interest, and sets up on a great scale for a persecuted man. Every circumstance concerning the base fugitive is resounded through the Union. All America is in a ferment because a run-away Englishman was unlawfully, though gently, and peaceably, carried from Georgia to New-York.

What was the case of William Morgan? I need not repeat particulars. A free man—an American born,—without any offence against our laws,—is imprisoned first as a debtor, then as a felon, is blindfolded and gagged, bereft of all possible aid from counsel or friends, and finally made to disappear from the face of this habitable globe. Many of us who were in distant parts of the state, can recollect hearing some indistinct rumours of a man being taken off. I remember hearing that some affidavits had been published in a single western paper. I sought for information in New-York, but could find none; for some months, I could not learn what had taken place.

Here, then, was a case where a man had by unlawful violence been mysteriously taken from friends and family, and the light of day, and who remained unaccounted for. It is impossible to imagine a case of more deep and alarming interest. Neither were the facts inaccessible. They were published at the west: copies of that publication were known to be in the city of New-York; and yet no paper in that city, or but one only, dared to allude to the transaction, and but one or two in other parts of the state. All other papers alike, as if actuated by one spirit, or controlled by one power, kept an obstinate, systematic, spell-bound silence.

The people at large had no possible means to come at the facts. If they heard some vague rumours, could they know that there was ever such a man as William Morgan? Had he thus disappeared? Oh, no! it was only the ravings of some factious people at the West. And while a

few reports and surmises were circulated, and then denied and ridiculed, and hooted down, the well established facts could in no way be laid before the people.

Neither would the papers deny the facts. They would neither, in general, say that Morgan had, or had not, been taken away. It was a system of silence, dead and mysterious, and manifestly produced by some general and powerful cause.

In saying this, I mean not to reproach all our papers with criminal connivance. Many were restrained by a just fear of the order, and felt that they had too much at stake. They might have no objections to the publication of authentic facts, or might wish to publish. But the secret hand of free-masonry was upon them: they had reason to dread the consequences of naming William Morgan, or his abduction or murder.

If any editor doubted whether a free citizen had been violently taken from among men, and hidden where the light of day, and the hand of charity, and the consolations of friends could never reach him, why not deny the fact? Or why not demand information, or challenge inquiry?

But, no! Unbroken silence was the command of free-masonry, and that command was obeyed by very nearly all the old presses. And in a country where not only the tale of every fugitive foreigner, but of every stolen horse, is sounded through the Union, the papers preserved an ominous silence regarding the abduction, and torture, and murder of a man and a citizen!

I have alluded to the state of the presses in general; and to those which are situated in the village and vicinity where Morgan lived, which were surrounded by men concerned in the abduction. Go now to the presses under the patronage of governments. Go to the state paper of New-York; a paper enjoying a legal monopoly to a limited extent, and in part supported by the public; a paper from these causes deriving great confidence among the people, and therefore bound to a certain degree of truth and impartiality in publishing facts. While that paper, like others, is filled with notices of every act of violence from Maine to Arkansaw, the abduction and murder of Morgan seem alone to be unknown to the Albany Argus.

Where then do the people of these United States stand? Let us open our eyes to view our real condition; and it is this: There is a power in this country which can imprison men and take life without law. When it does so, the laws are incompetent to punish, and the press too much enslaved to announce the fact. Against that power we appeal to the people: our noble friends in the west of New-York began that appeal under infinite discouragements. Office, and the magistracy were masonic, and were parties to the outrage; the press would circulate no information; when meetings were announced, the doors were closed against them there, as was attempted here in Philadelphia.

I had not intended to take up the time of the convention; the subject came abruptly upon me, and I could not forbear mentioning some of the topics which often press upon my mind. The government of a secret and self-elected body of men is no more republican, though it may preserve the forms, than the government of the Mamelukes of Egypt. It is no more a real government of the people than was the Roman Empire when decrees, in the name of the senate and people, were issued by an Augustus, a Nero, and a Caligula. Of what use is freedom of action when we are deceived as to the motives of action? Of what benefit are votes to us, when we are kept in necessary ignorance of the facts which should govern them?

Do the people of this country at all realize this wonderful fact—that great and flagrant crimes have been committed, which cannot be published except by establishing new presses? The facts have never yet been published by the majority of the papers in the state of New-York. In more distant places not a word is said of the matter, or only something to mislead and betray. There is a power among us which can steal, and imprison, and murder men; which asserts the right to do so; which defends the perpetrators from a common fund; which brings them off from trial by triumphant acquittals; and which can then suppress all general knowledge of the facts, except where new presses are established.

Let these presses fall, established as they have been by immense sacrifices; let the masonic presses resume their empire; then name the crime which masonry cannot safely commit; and tell me what the public can learn, except by permission of the lodges?

I ask gentlemen to follow up this subject in their minds, and see where masonry may not strike, or what is the limit to her power? With power over the press, she has the control of character as well as of life. She may strike any member of this convention by concerted calumny. She has boasted of this power in speeches, and she bears it in her obligations. I have no doubt but masonry has cried down the characters, and broken the hearts of many honest men, who never knew the cause. Thus life, fortune, and character are held by the sufferance of free-masonry. Go before the people, and you have no remedy except by free presses. Masonry at this moment controls the sources of information over the far greater part of the Union. The people know just what she permits them to know.

Why need I repeat the truism, that the liberty of the press is the palladium of liberty? It is the SOLE palladium—MOST EMPHATICALLY it is so.

Why, then, should not all good men join us in this cause? Is it denied that the press is shackled? Can impudence pretend that it is not thus shackled in favour of murder and perjury? Are not these efforts of ours made to set it free? Does not masonry persist in hiding the knowledge of facts, which no human audacity can now deny to be true?

In the ancient republics, in Rome and Athens, and other free states, the democracy assembled

around the forum, and the advocates of liberty pleaded her cause, before free nations. But have you any orator here to gather together our millions from Missouri to the main? Have you any such forum? The press wields the argument and persuasion of this age. It is only by this, that the wise and good can bring their counsels home to the people. Take from the press its liberty, and you leave with masonry the power to strike and to overawe whom she will. Leave us in the hands of masonic magistrates, sheriffs, jurors, witnesses, and judges, and of a masonic press, and then what is public liberty worth, and how far are we removed from despotism? Who that is not a mason, will not feel that he is a slave, and act accordingly?

I must hope, sir, that the resolution will prevail.

Mr. TERRY, from Connecticut, rose, not to go into the consideration of this question generally, but simply to state some facts within his own knowledge, as to the state of the press in that part of the country in which he resided. Said the speaker, there are eight newspapers published in Hartford, where I live; and yet, it is impossible to procure the insertion of any thing regarding free-masonry in any one of them, except in one recently established by the anti-masons. I select one fact.

Mr. Whittlesey, of Middletown, lately renounced free-masonry, and under circumstances calculated to make a deep impression upon the public mind, for he was in the last stage of life. I applied personally to the editor of one of our newspapers, to procure the insertion of that renunciation, but he refused.

I addressed myself to one gentleman, whom I thought a very candid, honourable man, the editor of another paper, but it was all in vain. I believe he would have been willing, personally, to have had it inserted, but he dared not do it. He was so much under the influence of masons, in consequence of their patronage, that he seemed to consider it unsafe. This is the case, universally, in the state of Connecticut. No anti-masonic intelligence can be inserted in any paper but one. To be sure, when some fine stories were circulated about the appearance of Morgan at Malta, and at Smyrna, the masonic editors inserted *that*, but *nothing else*.

In the state of Connecticut, which the vanity of its inhabitants sometimes calls the Athens of America, there are hundreds and thousands of our citizens who know nothing upon this subject. They do not read the anti-masonic paper—for they are told that it is a contemptible thing, set up by some worthless person from New York: they are deterred from taking this, and all the other presses are muzzled, completely muzzled.

I now content myself with making one further remark. If the newspapers of this country, —which ought to be free—if the papers of this country had pursued their course and been really free, I venture to say there would have been very little need of our assembling in convention this day. No, Sir, the people would, ere now, have understood the subject completely, and decided right; for nothing more is necessary than to inform the people. The great difficulty is, the want of disseminating information upon this subject. It does appear to me, that the resolution which has been offered by the gentleman from New York, is an all-important one.

Mr. WHITTLESEY, of New York. This is a resolution of deep importance, and one upon which time may be spent profitably. What are the facts? William Morgan, a citizen of the state of New York, a free man, is seized at mid-day in Batavia, transported by relays of horses a distance of 150 miles, confined in a fortress of the United States, and, a few days after, put to death! This was an outrage which necessarily required many agents; extensive must have been the correspondence and concert, which carried into operation this high-handed offence. It might have been supposed, that the whole people would have risen up indignant, and demanded punishment for the perpetrators of such an outrage.

It would be supposed, that the press, the public press, trumpet-tongued as it has ever been in cases of crime of this description, would have lent its powerful aid in the investigation; that it would have put forth, in animated language, its details, and joined the public in requiring at the hands of the perpetrators, vengeance and punishment, for the blood of their victim.

In that whole section of country, populous and well informed as it is, and abounding in presses, there was, for months, but a single press found that dared to tell the tale; but one single press dared to offer a word in relation to the fate of this unhappy man! When requests were made for the insertion of information, those who made them were insultingly refused. I know some facts in relation to this transaction, and I will mention one. In the village of Rochester, where I reside, an editor, a member of the society of friends, ventured to say, that he thought it not quite right, to take a man thus away and put him to death, and if they had done it, as represented, there ought to be a legal investigation. When this moderate article appeared in this print, a knight templar, a treasurer of Monroe encampment, or bearing some high office, rushed into his office, ordered his advertisements out of the paper, and the paper discontinued, stating to the publisher, that, if he did not retract, more than half his subscribers would take the same course. He then went to a royal arch mason, and boasted that he had shut the quaker's head. I grieve, for the honor of the press, that the editor did recant.

Another fact:—I was myself, at that time, the conductor of a public paper, and ventured to say, that the facts ought to be given to the public. I was met, privately, by the minister, under whose teaching I had been sitting, and who was also a knight templar in Monroe encampment. He told me, as I valued my reputation, my living and character, not to meddle

with that subject. He said, the masons were powerful, they were my friends; and they had in their hands, the means of my ruin.

Sir, there is not a fact in the whole course of this outrage, not a fact in the whole history of the transaction, so alarming, as this forced silence of the press, muzzled, shackled, and influenced by the fraternity. We felt it to be so, and we have at a heavy expense established presses for the express purpose of giving publicity to facts, for in no other way could they reach the public eye. And I venture to say, that nineteen out of twenty, of all the anti-masonic presses now in operation, have been constrained to give publicity to this matter, or have been established expressly for the purpose; of the old presses in New York and the eastern states, not ten have even yet opened their columns in any manner.

Last winter the report of a public officer was made to the legislature of the state; an official document entitled to high credit. Yet that report never saw the light, through the columns of our public press in any of the large towns and cities of our state, or in very few if any. There was scarcely a press that dare give publicity to that document, sanctioned as it was by high official authority, except the presses of an anti-masonic character. The history of the trials, where free-masons put at defiance the power of the law; where witnesses refused to answer after being sworn, and triumphed in the success of their obstinacy; that history has never been published in the public papers, except by those which are anti-masonic. Ought not such facts to arouse our citizens? But means must be found to make the facts known; and when known, the facts alone would demonstrate the importance of this enquiry.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, said that he had not called for the reasons in favour of this resolution from any hostility to it. He had thought that perhaps the object was embraced in the duties of another committee. He was decidedly in favour of the inquiry, which he considered a very important one. The first information that he had received in relation to Morgan was, that he was in Canada attending a bar; then that he was at Smyrna, wearing the turban, and afterwards that he was among our Indians, wearing the breech-cloth; and next that he was on shipboard. This was the kind of information which we received, and all that we could get. This circumstance more than any other induced him to take a stand. When he came to learn the real truth, it was that which changed his opinion of masonry. He considered that the rights and liberties of his fellow-citizens were in danger; and he was for inquiring into the state of the public press, with a view to the adoption of measures for their protection.

He thought, if the public press was so completely under control, that an individual could be taken away, transported one hundred and fifty miles, and then murdered, without a possibility of the public arriving at the facts, it was time for the people to be up; and if there was now a resolution which would reach this subject, he would give his right hand in favour of it.

Mr. Ruggles could not suppress his feelings on this subject. The king of France had fallen a victim to his efforts to muzzle the press. And should the free sons of liberty attempt to do what kings had failed to do? A faction in New-York had tried to muzzle the press. This was a mortifying fact. Pennsylvania had sympathized with us on the occasion: and the resolution ought to be adopted.

Mr. Phelps rejoiced that the resolution had been thus introduced. He hoped it would be agreed to, without waiting for the committee, of which he was chairman, to bring forward the subject.

Mr. Boileau, of Pennsylvania, said that he approved the sentiments expressed by the gentleman who had addressed the chair, but he disapproved the manner which had been adopted in shewing the approbation of the convention. That manner was too light. It was too theatrical; too much like the practice of the British parliament in applauding their speakers by crying out, *hear, hear, hear!* If we indulge in this clapping of our hands when we approved, we might begin to hiss what we disliked.

The President reminded the gentleman, that this was not the question before the convention.

Mr. Cooke, of New-York, said it had been his fortune to be located within seven miles of the tragic ground alluded to; that there was a newspaper published in the village where he resided, edited by a royal arch mason, and another printed in the same county, also edited by a royal arch mason. It would be recollected that the abduction took place in the month of September, and although the man was carried within four rods of the place where he slept; and though he had at that time as many facilities for learning such facts as any other person, happening at that time to be postmaster, yet from all the papers that came to his office, with the exception of Miller's from Batavia, there was not an intimation of this event. It was not known at Lewiston by the uninitiated, that he had passed through that place, till the December following. The editor of the paper printed at Lewiston visited the magazine, and did then examine the interior walls of the building, to see if the martyr had left any marks, by which it could be known that he had been confined in that building.

It was not, then, for want of information that these facts were withheld. The editor of the Lockport paper was also a royal arch mason. He went to Niagara to enquire about getting a place to deposit Morgan. It was not for want of information that he did not publish the facts. These are not facts resting upon my own assertion, but they are recorded.

As my friend on the opposite side of the house has just observed, there has been a total departure from the usages of this country, as it regards this question. We often, nay daily, see a chapter of accidents—that a stage has turned over, that a gentleman's collar-bone was broken

a lady injured—that a vessel has been capsized and so many drowned. All these things are arranged for the public eye, but to what paper will you refer to find the facts in relation to William Morgan—or to ascertain whether there was ever such a man; or, that such a man was ever abducted. It is only to those papers which have grown up since that catastrophe—it is to them we are indebted.

When the legal investigations were commenced, it was supposed that a channel was opened through which the facts might be made known; but this channel, too, was altogether obstructed, and the affidavits could not reach the public eye. We have found, and still find, that nothing more is necessary to raise feelings of indignation, than simply to inform the public mind, by communicating the facts. When this is done, every man is in the same way of thinking—except those who may have submitted to the degrading ceremonies of free-masonry. Wherever you extend a knowledge of the facts, it is sufficient to produce conviction.

Mr. Seward, of New-York, made several remarks, the minutes of which, it is perceived with regret, have not been preserved. He said that the abduction and murder of Morgan were not the acts of a few misguided men. It had been participated in, or approved by, at least one hundred masons. Morgan had fallen a martyr to the liberty of the press. In relation to the obligation of masonry, he said that one question was, whether one hundred thousand citizens of the United States had taken an oath which would prevent them from being impartial jurors. When was there such a question to call forth the energies of a free press? Where was there an editor who would dare to tell this truth? Be it true or false, it ought to be made known.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was not disposed to occupy much of the time of the convention, but he would take occasion now, to allude to the influence of masonic obligations, and masonic influence upon the press. It is known to some of the citizens of these United States,—a portion, and a large portion of our freemen have heard it rumoured,—that there does exist in their midst, an institution whose secrets are operating upon the welfare of the community, in plotting those things which are not consistent with the liberty of these States. Those freemen have delegated a portion of their citizens under the protection of the law, to meet in solemn council, for the high purpose of investigating, whether, in this free land, there do really exist secret treasons;—whether, as they have been induced to believe, there do exist secret combinations of men, whose constitution, comprised in their oaths, is inconsistent with permanent and rational liberty. It was known that these men thus delegated were to meet in the city of Philadelphia to make this important investigation. It is important to those who are accused; it is important to the many millions of freemen, who are told that such institutions do exist, that a fair, and full, and open inquiry be had in the face of day—that the inquiry should come to the ear of a fair and impartial judge—to the people, that they may investigate the truth for themselves. And if there be falsehood, if no such institutions exist, if those who have made the allegation before the tribunal of the public, have attempted to impose falsehood for truth, and perjury for honest testimony, it is necessary that it should be known in order that the accused may be exculpated, and that infamy may cover those, who have thus improperly agitated the public mind. If true, it is right that this great community should know it, and guard against the evil.

Look at the operation of the press—and I ask you, every man who hears me, what proportion of the people of these United States, know that such a convention has this day assembled? There is scarcely a man in the south who knows it, for the papers have never mentioned it. I will venture to affirm, that not one fourth part of the citizens of this intelligent city,—in which this convention was to assemble,—not one fourth of the citizens of this place, even to the present moment, know that you were to meet here, or that you are now in session.

Look at the public papers in the city of Philadelphia—and many are printed and circulated; for it is a city of intelligence, and their papers are conducted with ability, spirit and power; and if there were not an influence operating, higher than human curiosity, and higher than is known to the laws of our land, would they not have given a knowledge of the facts, of such a convention being about to assemble, especially when such charges are alleged against respectable men, high in power. And why is it so? Look at the daily papers of this city, and where will you find one that has announced the simple fact—I make one honourable exception; for I do know that the fact was announced by one paper in this city, not claiming to be anti-masonic.

But, sir, I ask, when, in a populous city, embracing hundreds of thousands of souls—when did such a convention ever meet, to deliberate for a nation's safety, that the public journals, seeking the promotion of their own interests, did not give their proceedings from day to day, and inform the public, whether they are proceeding right or wrong; and if wrong direct the attention of the community to them, and fix the gaze of the public upon them. With one honourable exception—except in the case of a paper established upon anti-masonic grounds, there is not one, of the whole of this worthy corps, that appears to know that you exist;—not one that has the desire or curiosity to see you, or a wish, that those whom he is to enlighten, should know whether this body are entitled to respect and credit, for the important disclosures which they are about to make. But we profess to have in hand matter, whether true or false, which the public are entitled to know. And yet the papers which surround you are as silent as the grave.

These are facts, to show, that at least this discussion is not improper; that at least a dis-

cussion of this kind is almost the only means of communicating the facts regarding an institution which we deem dangerous. I know that the public presses on the other side, now and then, instead of giving the facts, brand the efforts of anti-masonry with infamy. And I am sorry to say, that this practice is not confined to members of the fraternity who govern the press. I recollect, and lately witnessed it, in an address delivered before a masonic assemblage in the western part of this state, and now published in the masonic papers, where a learned judge descended from his high station, to make a charge upon those who had favoured the anti-masonic cause, in words like these, "They pretend that the secrets of free-masonry are before the community, but for themselves they are entitled to no credit, for it is the fashion of the day in the party to which they belong, to be associated with infamy, and they deserve not to be publicly credited." This reminds me of another learned judge, from the same city, who upon a late occasion declined to stand as a candidate for Congress. He used language not less disrespectful. If any thing is calculated to cast discredit upon the fraternity, not a word of it is found in their papers. I know the cause; the reasons have been given why they muzzle the press. They are, that charges are made against the whole fraternity, for holding principles, which sanction the execution of William Morgan. But let the people say whether in fact they do not sanction such principles. Till the masonic fraternity do disapprove of the act, and pronounce it unmasonic conduct; till they inflict masonic punishment on the malefactors, it is right that the imputation should be repeated before the people. And I hope that all the people will hear, and, more and more hear, that melancholy tragedy recited, till it awake them to examination. I am unwilling to injure the feelings of masons in any part of the country, but while they sanction that act, I would place before them the ghost of that murdered martyr, in his bloody garments, though it should sear their eye-balls.

The resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Whittlesey,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report to this convention what judicial evidence exists as to the disclosures relative to the masonic obligations.

An official list of the members, of their address, and boarding-houses, was ordered.

The convention then adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, Sept. 14.

At nine o'clock this morning, the convention re-assembled at the saloon of the Musical Fund Society. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Goffe, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Clark, of Vermont, from the committee to whom the resolution on the subject was referred, reported that it was not expedient to admit other persons than members to take seats in the convention for the purpose of participating in debate or voting; but that it was expedient to admit them to seats as honorary members. At the suggestion of Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and other gentlemen, the report was amended so as to permit all honorary members to participate in debate, and honorary members from states not here represented, to vote as well as debate.

With these amendments, Mr. Dexter, of Michigan, opposed the resolution, and urged the adoption of the original report. Mr. Terry, of Connecticut, expressed his sentiments in favour of allowing all honorary members to participate in debate, but not to vote. Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts, insisted upon the propriety of admitting the honorary members from states not represented, to the privilege of voting. Mr. Ruggles, of Massachusetts, considered it improper for the convention to take upon itself the power of appointing delegates for the states not represented in it, and thought it wrong to admit honorary members at all. Mr. Slade, of Vermont, was opposed to the admission of honorary members from the states represented in the convention. Mr. Whittlesey, of New-York, said that this body had no right to add to or diminish the number of its members.

The resolution was then again amended so as to admit all honorary members merely to the privilege of participating in debate.

Mr. Stevens said, that he should vote for the resolution as amended. This convention had come here without any specific powers; and it was not without a precedent in the admission of honorary members. The first anti-masonic convention in Pennsylvania had admitted an eloquent and learned gentleman from New-York [Mr. Whittlesey] to a seat, and had invited him to participate in its debates and deliberations. This he had done to the great advantage of the cause. Here was an illustrious precedent. In the course of his observations, Mr. Stevens expressed the opinion that there was no danger, by the admission of honorary members, of any mason attempting to take a seat among them. The fraternity consisted principally of honourable men, taken apart from their masonic mysteries, ties, and obligations; and he had no apprehension that any evil could result from the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was accordingly agreed to.

Mr. Lindley, from North Carolina, was admitted as an honorary member.

Mr. Pliny Merrick, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Charles Starr, of New-York, appeared and took their seats, making the whole number of the convention 105.

Mr. Whittlesey, of New-York, from the committee appointed to report a succinct and lucid account of the abduction and murder of Captain William Morgan, and of the conduct and measures adopted by the fraternity, jointly and severally, to prevent the conviction of their more prominent fellow masons concerned in that abduction and murder, submitted a de-

tailed report on each branch of the inquiry, which occupied about an hour in reading. [See it among the published reports.]

When the reading of the report was concluded, Mr. Seward, of New-York, rose, and said, that it was an exceedingly interesting document; and as it would be some time before it would be printed for the use of the members, and, as observed yesterday, the newspaper press was muzzled, he would move that it be laid on the table for a day or two. It might be read by any member; and, if any proposition should grow out of it, it might be discussed. He expressed his high sense of the ability and patience which the committee had exhibited in the preparation of the report.

Mr. Cooke, of New-York, addressed the chair in support of the report. [The importance and variety of the matter introduced by Mr. Cooke, make the Committee unwilling to publish his remarks from the imperfect notes they possess. In order to give time to receive his corrections, from a distance of 500 miles, his speech must necessarily be postponed, and will appear at the end of the debates.]

Mr. Merrick, from Massachusetts, was in favour of the acceptance of the report. I consider it, said he, an able and satisfactory exposition of the whole transaction, commencing with the conspiracy, going through with the abduction, and concluding with the efforts made to punish the actors in that conspiracy. The facts which are stated there I believe to be true—the evidence that the public have been put in possession of, is sufficient to satisfy any reasonable mind that they are so. The statements which have been made just now, by the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Cooke,) are entitled, in my judgment, to equal confidence. The facts have been submitted to the alembic of the committee, and the subject has had ample justice done it.

It is right and proper, that acts like those which terminated the life of a fellow-citizen should be well understood by the whole community; that the transaction should be minutely detailed. It has been done. This report should be spread before the community. It should be read and examined.

I deem, sir, that when we have embodied these facts—that when this convention are satisfied that the facts in that report are true, they have done all that is necessary upon that point. Sir, the convention may then be better occupied than in going again into further details upon this subject. Let us recollect that, unpardonable and intolerable as the abduction and death of Morgan are, still *they* are not anti-masonry. That event lies not at the foundation of this question. It was an event, in the course of Providence, which brought men to think and act. In the progress of things, it has enabled many individuals to cast from them the shackles of a monstrous imposition. They have cast them off; and in resolving to do so, there are principles of high moment involved, upon which this whole people are also to act. Let us then go beyond that transaction in the western part of the state of New-York, and act upon principles which are to give cohesion to the anti-masonic party—not cohesion merely, but triumph.

We are not assembled to try the malefactors of the state of New-York; that matter belongs to her tribunals; and if, from the obstructions thrown in their way, they have been unable to accomplish it, our efforts, however high or earnest, cannot produce the effect. Enough has been already done in the way of discussion and reports here, regarding the foul acts of the conspirators of New-York, which terminated in the death of that martyr. A long, as well as sad requiem has been chanted to his memory. Let it pass from this convention to the people, to be kept up by them as they see fit.

Sir, I have said all that I wished to say; I wished merely to throw out an admonition, not to regard the conspiracy in New-York as the basis of anti-masonry, or as developing its principles. They are to be found by an investigation of the very character of the institution itself. And though I question not, that in the west, along the borders of its lakes, there have been deeds done which should not be named except in the pit of darkness, yet it is for us, to travel far beyond them—to enter at once upon the principles of our future action. We should regard the past, sir, but as the origin of the efforts which we are now to make.

Mr. Maynard, of New-York, moved to lay the report upon the table. He, too, complimented the ability with which it was drawn up. The facts stated in it were, he was satisfied, all true; but it was desirable to ascertain whether they were all such as ought at present to be laid before the public. To give a little time for reflection, he was desirous that the report should be laid upon the table: which was accordingly ordered.

Mr. Ward, of New-York, from the committee appointed to ascertain when, where, and for what purpose free-masonry was first instituted; where it has flourished most, and what is the probable number of the fraternity in each country where it exists, made a report. [This will be found among the reports in this volume.] This report was laid upon the table.

The convention adjourned to meet again at 4 o'clock, at which time they reassembled.

Mr. Curtenius, of New-York, withdrew a resolution offered by him on a preceding day, relative to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Whittlesey, of New-York, renewed the resolution of Mr. Curtenius.

Mr. Phelps, of Massachusetts, said he was in favour of the resolution. A strong feeling seemed to exist on this subject. He hoped that a committee would be appointed to consider this subject, and give the reasons for or against a nomination.

Mr. Jones, of Pennsylvania, said he hoped that no such resolution would pass. He be-

lieved that at this time no such committee should be appointed. The time had not yet come. Our southern and western brethren were not yet with us. We were not yet the representatives of the majority of the States. The people had not instructed us, and did not expect us to act on this subject. When the people wanted a nomination, they would elect delegates for this express purpose.

Mr. Seward, of New-York, said he was one of those who would be pleased to have anti-masonic candidates for the Presidency. He should also be pleased to have such candidates succeed; but he likewise thought that prudence was necessary. He believed that it was not expedient now to make the nomination. The termination of the state elections might alter materially the aspect of affairs.

Mr. Curtenius, of New-York, said he was in possession of one fact which was sufficient to convince every mind, that anti-masons should have candidates of their own at a proper time. He held in his hand a paper containing evidence relative to the election of a late candidate. This evidence is from a mason living in the state of New-Hampshire, and it is this: —"That masons had come to a determination that no man but one who had taken the higher degrees of masonry should ever again be President of these United States."

Mr. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, offered an amendment, that there be an immediate nomination. This amendment was lost without debate.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania. Sir, I think it my duty to give my reasons why I think the resolution ought to prevail. I know that upon this subject a very deep interest is felt by most people of the state of Pennsylvania; and I think it all-important, that an inquiry of this kind should be entered into.

In my humble opinion, if we now separate, without taking some means to express our views upon this subject, we have not only met in vain, but worse than in vain. It will give a blow to the spirit of anti-masonry, and a stamp to the whole cause, which you will not easily repair.

It is known to many, and I aver, that, though I believe masonry to be injurious to the cause of religion, it is also made to operate with more peculiar force upon our political institutions; and we have therefore a right to submit the subject to the people, for their direction. I know of but one way that they can fairly express their sentiments, and that is, by the elective franchise.

If we take this course, I know it will be said that this is a political convention. This will be the clamour of our opponents; but I regard their clamour as I would regard the idle winds. We are to be governed by what *we* believe to be the will of our constituents. We should take counsel of our friends, and not of those who are arrayed in hostility against us.

Now, although this convention is not strictly for political purposes alone, yet, in my humble estimation, there is no way by which you can make the masonic fraternity feel and tremble, except through the medium of the elections. If we come here for the purpose of discussing and developing freemasonry, without taking some effective measures to enforce upon that institution the results of our examinations, we shall place ourselves in a situation to merit the contempt of the public.

Now, this resolution is simply to inquire, whether it is expedient to proceed to the nomination, &c.; and it was hardly expected that this would be met at the very threshhold in this way. And I ask, how are you to disseminate anti-masonry, except through some such common medium? I admit you may extend it slowly—some remote brethren may pick up a stray newspaper occasionally, in which there may be some vague hints upon the subject; but few, very few, of all our citizens would know, for years, that such a question has been here agitated; for the press is muzzled; it is closed. But nominate a candidate for President, and call him the anti-masonic candidate, and it is a question which will interest every man, from north to south.

Even those high dignitaries, kings, and princes, and royal companions, in this country, will then find it incumbent on them to meet the opposition; to sustain their institution, or fall before the march of their opposers.

Our citizens at the west, knowing that there are two great presidential candidates before the people, will enlist themselves under the banners of one or the other of the two candidates. But if you reject the resolution now before you, you shut out all inquiry as to the propriety of a nomination at all; and the people of the United States will say, "the Anti-Masonic Convention have virtually decided, that they have not the right to interfere with that nomination;" and what would be the effect of such a course?

On the other hand, if the nomination be made, all the people who are not now anti-masons, would no longer have any inducement to suspend their decision; for they will espouse the cause of one or the other; their feelings will become warmed and interested on one or the other side. But if at some future time you attempt to introduce anti-masonry, the opposite party will say, that the feelings of the people are pre-engaged, and the progress of anti-masonry will stop till the next contest has gone by. In my estimation it is important that a committee should report upon the subject.

If we hold to the idea, that no nomination is to be made, and that we are carrying on anti-masonry for the furtherance of a mere state contest, and that there is no higher object here or in any other part of the government, we have not only done nothing, but far worse than nothing—for we shall have shown, that we do not intend to eradicate the evil, but to punish the sins of it in certain states, and upon certain individuals.

All who embark in this cause, should consider that free-masonry contains principles which unfit any man to fulfil the high trusts of the government. On that principle we should act throughout. I am in favour of the resolution.

Mr. Holley, of New-York, agreed that at a proper time it would be necessary to have candidates.

Mr. Dexter, of Michigan, said that it was not necessary at this time to discuss the propriety of a nomination; but merely for that of appointing of a committee to inquire into the expediency.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, of New-York, the resolution was so amended that the committee should consist of one member from each state and territory here represented.

The resolution, in that shape, was then adopted.

Mr. Hopkins, of New-York, to whom the subject was referred, made a report on the true nature of masonic oaths and obligations.

The report was laid on the table, and the convention adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Wednesday, Sept. 15, 1830.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Thacher, from the committee on the subject, made a report upon the nature and spirit of anti-masonry, the means resorted to by free-masons to suppress inquiry, &c., which, on motion, was ordered to lie upon the table.

Mr. Oliver, from the committee on that subject, made a report upon the pretensions of free-masonry, and how far they are supported by facts.

Mr. Sweet, of New-York, moved, that the report be adopted; in support of which he addressed the convention.

Mr. President,—The report under consideration clearly shows, that the pretensions of free-masonry to antiquity are false; nevertheless, I shall take the liberty to make a few additional remarks upon the subject to which it relates.

I did not rise with a view of occupying the attention of this convention any considerable portion of time, and rather than go beyond the limits within which prudence and brevity should confine the members of this body, I will only notice one of the many writers, who show how the *order* can '*ensconce*' its head in the region beyond the clouds.

Salem Towne says, in substance, "that in every country where human beings have had their residence, free-masonry has existed, and preserved the appropriate name of God, Jehovah, while the uninitiated were sunk in heathenism; that the wise men of the East were guided to the place where lay an infant *Saviour*, at Bethlehem, by means of masonic light; and that no period short of a vast eternity can fully display its moral beauties and unsearchable riches." Sir, this is the manner in which a most approved author expresses to the public his sentiments in relation to the origin and utility of the institution.

This theology, which is limited, like the ancient pagan religions, to a few of the noble and learned who may be initiated into its mysteries, and which carries none of its consolations to a majority of rational creatures, is recommended by a host of those upon whom the highest honours within the gift of the fraternity have been conferred. Among the most prominent of this royal number, is the name of the late Honourable and Most Excellent Companion De Witt Clinton, General Grand High Priest of the General Grand Chapter of the United States of America, and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the state of New-York, &c. &c.

This privileged aristocracy, which, while it confers titles as numerous and high-sounding as those of the Celestial Emperor of China, or the Grand Lama of Tibet, upon the "elect perfect and sublime princes of the royal secret," calls free citizens to bow to the assumed supremacy of its authority, is irreconcileable with the doctrine of equal rights, which we regard as the palladium of our freedom.

Sir, what are the scenes which occur in every chapter of royal arch masons? In addition to the incongruities of the ceremonies, to which other gentlemen during our sittings have referred, there is another which serves to illustrate the position assumed by the committee upon whose report we are about to act.

When a box, which masonically is the ark of the covenant, is introduced, the *high priest* takes out of it a book, which, after seriously consulting with the king and scribe, he pronounces to be the book of the law; and he then informs the companions that they here see that the world is indebted to free-masonry, and not to the church, as some of the stupid and profane have imagined, for the preservation of that sacred volume.

The *high priest*, in the plenitude of his wisdom, also affords the companions the further masonic information, that the ark which contains the bible, and other valuable articles and jewels, was "deposited 3000 years ago by our three ancient grand masters for the good of masonry." Sir, is it possible that in this enlightened 19th century, intelligent men can be sincere in the belief, either that this is not an imposture, or that free-masonry conducts her votaries to life eternal in the heavens?

What but the impression that masonry is paramount to the religion of our country, could have influenced the Most Worshipful Deputy Grand Master and Grand Master, pro tem., of a western state, solemnly to declare, "That he would not give *masonry* for a seat with Gabriel at the right hand of *God's Throne!!!*"

It appears to me, sir, that that insatiate curiosity which lost our first parents their primeval

innocence and the joys of paradise, and through disobedience to the Divine command involved their posterity in the curse of moral death, was of the same spirit with that which has in our own time sent thousands in search after that '*supreme* and *divine* knowledge,' which the profane votaries of free-masonry impiously assert was communicated by the Almighty Creator to Adam as the last best gift of heaven. They assert that its pure and sublime principles, uncontrolled by prejudice or time, have been sacredly preserved, inviolably concealed, and mysteriously handed down for ages, through faithful and appointed agents, to king Solomon, Hiram, king of Tyre, and Hiram Abiff, when masonry shone forth in all its glory, at the building of the holy temple, under these three sublime and most illustrious grand masters, from whose reign down to the present time the order falsely pretend to trace its gradual diffusion among the *nations* of the earth. *Horrible profanation! gross imposture!* and *most contemptible delusion!*

Sir, we *mock* at the astonishing traditions and false assumptions of free-masonry to divine origin and perfectibility, upon the same principles that the prophet Elijah *mocked* at the absurd notions and idolatrous rites of Baal's false prophets. That the mysteries of speculative free-masonry existed in embryo some time before it assumed its present shape and constitution is not denied; but the evidence exhibited in the report submitted by my colleague from New-York (Mr. Ward) settles the question, that the institution which professes to have its origin in and from God, sprung up in London, on the 24th June, in the year 1717. The President of Andover Seminary, in reply to the Suffolk committee, says, "that there are no traces of the history of free-masonry in ancient times to be found in any of the Asiatic or European languages. Had it been in existence, as its votaries pretend, at Jerusalem, it would gradually have made its way through Egypt, Greece, Rome, Spain, Germany, and Britain; but that such was not the fact we have, in the absence of other positive proof than that which is derived from masonic assertions, the strongest negative testimony."

None of the ancient historians, whose works have come down to modern times, make the slightest allusion to free-masonry. Josephus, the learned historian of the Jews, is wholly silent respecting any such order. So are Tacitus and Herodotus. The Sacred Scriptures make no mention of it; and we pronounce its pretensions to antiquity and religion to be illusory and preposterous.

Notwithstanding this society has existed only 120 years, the Book of Constitutions, of which James Anderson, D. D. is the author, published under the sanction of the mother of lodges and its grand officers, represents free-masonry as the work of the Almighty Architect, and that, under the Grand Master of the universe, Enoch erected two pillars, and that Most Worshipful Brother Noah, to preserve true and complete masonry through the flood, held a grand lodge in the ark.

Were it not, sir, for our knowledge of the unholy oaths and horrid penalties with which free-masons are bound together, and against the world, all these fables and traditions might pass, exciting only a smile of derision or a feeling of contempt, without seriously alarming the patriot to a sense of danger to the republic. The oaths are the very heart of the order, but the report of the committee, (of which Mr. Hopkins, of New-York, was chairman,) on the invalidity of masonic oaths, renders it unnecessary to prolong my remarks.

In conclusion, I venture to say, that whenever a majority of the American people shall be convinced, as we are, that these oaths are not legally or morally binding, the whole system, which we have met here to abolish, will fall backwards into the *tomb of the Capulets, hopeless of a future resurrection.*

Mr. Boileau, of Pennsylvania: I did not expect to say a word to-day. I confess I rise under peculiar embarrassment, not only for want of previous preparation, but also because I address an enlightened audience, most of whom, I presume, are much better acquainted with the subject under discussion, than I am myself; and I cannot flatter myself, that I shall be able to suggest many new ideas on the subject. But I feel it a duty to myself, and to those who sent me here, to avail myself of some opportunity publicly to express my sentiments.

It has been often said that man is a religious animal. We find throughout the world, that there is scarcely any people, however savage, who have not some form of religion. It may be said, perhaps, with equal truth, that man is a *superstitious* animal. And although superstition is most prevalent among the rude, ignorant, and illiterate, yet the most learned and enlightened, are not entirely exempt from it. The Greeks, and the Romans, in the most enlightened periods of their history, are strongly marked with gross superstition. Even the polite, the polished, the learned citizens of Athens, were charged with it by the apostle Paul. He said, when he stood in the midst of Mars' Hill, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too *superstitious*. I found an altar with this inscription, 'To the Unknown God.'" When the light of the gospel spread throughout the heathen world, their altars and their gods were prostrated in the dust. But superstition, in a great degree, survived the ruins, and still pervades, in a greater or less degree, all the nations of the world. America itself is not an exception to this remark. Indeed we are all more or less prone to pay respect and veneration to what is covered with the veil of darkness and mystery. The masons themselves appear to have availed themselves of this feature of the human mind. They conceal their rites, their ceremonies, and proceedings, under the veil of secrecy, mystery, and midnight darkness. They watch their temples with the strictest care. Their doors are guarded by their tylers with their drawn swords. When the foot of a stranger approaches, he is arrested in his progress, and his ears saluted with, "Procul—procul—*este profani.*" Keep at a distance from this sacred place, the *ground* is *holy*, pollute it not with unhallowed feet. We are struck with awe,

and feel a *superstitious* reverence for the place. But the day of delusion I trust is past. The *veil* is rent *asunder;* the doors of the *sanctum sanctorum* are thrown open. And what do we behold? A whited sepulchre, indeed! filled with *pollution, rottenness, and dead men's bones.* Sir, I had the curiosity last evening to see a seceding bright mason exhibit the ceremonies of creating knights templar and of Malta. My risible faculties were at first excited by the ridiculous ceremonies; but when I saw the altar, the Bible open upon it, the coffin, the skull and thigh bones upon it, the blindfolded candidate kneeling before it, taking the most awful oath, and drinking wine out of the human skull, I shuddered at the view.

Sir, I say the veil of the temple is now rent; and the doors of what they profanely call the *holy* of *holies*, are thrown open wide. Morgan, like him of old, has seized the Jachin and the Boaz, the pillars of the mystic temple, and it is fallen into ruins. His body, indeed, like that of Sampson, has been crushed in the fall, and buried in its ruins, but his soul has escaped unhurt—it has ascended. His memory will deserve a niche in the temple of Fame, not less conspicuous than that of the patriots and heroes of the American revolution; and his name will live in the recollection of every friend to *liberty* and *religion*,

> "*Till Time, like him of Gaza, in his wrath,*
> *Plucking the pillars that support the world,*
> In Nature's ample ruins lies entombed,
> And midnight, *universal midnight reigns.*"

Mr. President: When any man, or society of men, demand from us the *homage* of our *high respect* and *veneration*, it behooves them to exhibit and substantiate their claims; and it is our privilege, and our duty, to examine their pretensions before we accede to their demand. The subject now under discussion, is "The pretensions free-masons make upon which they found their claim to our high respect and consideration, and inquiry into facts in support of their claims." Here masons avail themselves of that *feature* of the human mind to which we have alluded—*superstition*. They say their institution is of divine origin; that it came from heaven. If this claim be well founded, we are bound to respect and venerate it. I confess myself an *infidel* on this subject. I believe just as fully that the images of Jupiter, or Diana, descended from heaven. I acknowledge that they are not without some presumptive proof of their institution *coming* from heaven. Satan, the great apostate, probably formed a grand lodge in heaven, and drew into it a considerable portion of the heavenly host. In that lodge, *treason* was hatched. The design was formed to hurl the Almighty from his throne, and overthrow his government. But they could not conceal the design from the all-seeing eye. The traitors were banished and hurled over the battlements of heaven, down, down to the bottomless pit. But by the inscrutable decree of the Almighty, the gates of hell were not so barred as ultimately to prevent his escape. He did break out, and winged his way through the empire of Night and Chaos, and alighted upon this our globe. He explored it; he found out the residence of our first parents. The garden of Eden was walled in, and the gate was closed. But he, "*with one slight bound o'erleaped all bounds.*" And where did one of the guardian angels first find him?

> "Squat like a toad—close at the ear of Eve,
> Assaying, by his devilish art, to reach
> The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
> Illusions as he list—phantasms and dreams."

The wily serpent assailed her upon the only points, perhaps, she was assailable—her *fancy*, her *curiosity*, her *ambition*. He decoyed her to the forbidden tree. "She saw that the tree was good for food," and that "it was *pleasant* to the *eye*," and a tree to be desired to make one WISE. He informed her that he had eaten of the fruit, and she could see the astonishing and happy effect it had upon him; how he was elevated as to figure and intellect over his species. Her fancy was *pleased*, her *curiosity* was excited, and above all her *ambition* to become *wise* as gods, and to have *more light*. She presumptuously stretched forth her hand "*in evil hour.*" She plucked—she eat "*the fruit of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste brought death into the world, and all our woe.*" She also gave to Adam "*that fair enticing fruit.*" He eat:—

> "Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat,
> Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
> That all was lost."

And what was the light they discovered? They beheld that they were *naked*. They had lost their *primitive innocence*. They *were disrobed* of their *original righteousness*. They had lost the *moral image* of their *God*. They had no *spangled lambskin aprons* to cover their nakedness. They were compelled to sew *fig leaves* together to cover their nakedness. The apron is the first badge of masonry; and the entered apprentice is told it is the "*emblem* of *innocence.*" No—it was the *fruit* of *guilt*. And the mason, when he looks upon his apron, instead of being proud, ought to feel humbled, and to recollect that it is the emblem of guilt, and calls to his mind the *awful fall of man.*

There is another *presumptive proof* of the origin of masonry—the very striking *analogy* be-

tween the conduct of Satan in seducing our first parents, and the conduct of free-masons now in seducing men into their institution. They present temptations to the human mind, exactly suited to the various tempers and dispositions of men of all conditions.

To the young, the giddy, and the vain, they catch their fancy by the splendid exhibitions they make of their finery and their frippery. Their spangled aprons, their ribbons, their sashes, with colours as various as the rainbow, their mitres, their jewels, and their crowns.

To ingenuous minds, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, they tell them that lodges are schools of science and of literature; that there they will discover secrets in science no where else to be found, and will receive important aid in their laudable pursuits, which can be obtained from no other source. They tell ministers of the gospel, that in their lodges they will obtain information highly important to the discharge of their ministerial duties. There they will find a key to *unlock* the *hidden mysteries* of the gospel. To the ambitious for political preferment, that they will furnish them with a ladder by which they can ascend to the highest posts of honour, (and here perhaps they tell one truth; and there are one and more in this convention who have had this temptation presented to their view.) To the dissipated and the indolent, the institution is represented as furnishing "*refreshments*" eminently charitable; if reduced to poverty, they will be assisted; if they should leave widows and children destitute, they will be supported.

A strong temptation is presented to unprincipled villains. If detected in their villany, they confidently expect the shield of free-masonry will protect them from punishment. By such means the institution enlists under its banners all descriptions of character. And all may be useful to them. They have found in their lodges, characters so abandoned as to execute a Morgan, in conformity to *ancient usages* and laws of their institution. What says Brainard, one of their celebrated orators, on this subject? "Free-masonry, it is powerful, it comprises men of *rank*, *wealth*, *office*, and *talent*, in *power*, and *out of power*, and that in almost every place where *power is of any importance*. And it comprises, among other *classes* of the community, to the lowest, in large numbers, *active men, united together, and capable of being directed by the efforts of others*, so as to have the *force of concert throughout the civilized world*."

With temptations so various, *nets*, *snares*, and *gins*, spread so wide, it is no marvel that such numbers have been caught in their toils. And in *too, too* many instances, have they been as fatally deluded as our first parents.

Mr. President: I presume free-masons will not be willing to admit that speculative masonry came from heaven, according to the views I have taken of it. I ask them, then, to exhibit their proof of its *divine* origin. In examining Morgan's illustration of it, and Bernard's Light on Masonry, I cannot discern a single *feature* or *lineament* of divinity marked upon it. If the revelations made by them are not true, then no reliance can be put in human testimony—it has been corroborated by hundreds, not to say thousands, of seceding masons; nay, more, free-masons themselves have confirmed it; they have repeated, again and again, that Morgan was guilty of *perjury*, and that he deserved death. Consequently, what he revealed was *true*; otherwise he could not be guilty of perjury. He did not swear that he would not tell or write an *untruth*—but that he would not *reveal the secrets of masonry*. Admitting, then, that the secrets of masonry have been fully revealed: let us look at the first act of opening a lodge and introducing a candidate. The lodge is opened by prayer. Here let me state, that some years since a grand master of a lodge boarded in the same house with me, and endeavoured to enlist me under the banners of free-masonry, and, besides other means, and in order to "*reach the organs of my fancy*," he took me into the lodge room and exhibited to me the furniture and finery, which truly was elegant. Finally, he ascended the steps and took the grand master's chair behind the altar, and put a high cap on his head, on which was written, in large gilded letters, "*Holiness to the Lord.*" I was shocked at the profanity of this exhibition. I knew him to be a man profane and lewd in his language, intemperate and debauched in his habits. Yet such a character, and perhaps there are other grand masters equally immoral, opens lodges with prayer—they call upon the infinitely holy Being—ask him for his blessing upon their *unhallowed doings*—plead his promise, "*That when two or three are met together in his name, that he will be in the midst of them, and bless them.*" Again, they profess to "dedicate their lodge to God, and hold it forth to the holy order of St. John," &c. Do they not thus insult the majesty of heaven? Would it not be more appropriate to dedicate it to "*Bacchus*," or some other fabled heathen deity? The very first step the candidate takes when he enters the lodge, he treads under foot the positive laws of God, who says, "*Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.*" Christ says, "*Swear not at all.*" He takes an unlawful oath—he forswears himself; he puts his life in jeopardy for the most trifling cause, and he irreverently and insultingly calls upon the Almighty to witness the presumptuous violation of his own laws. Is it not an insult—is it not an approach to blasphemy, to say, that an institution which performs such rites and ceremonies is of divine origin? Is it not an insult to Infinite Wisdom to say that he is the author or institutor of such *fooleries* and *mummeries* as are exhibited in a lodge room? They assume the names, the titles, and the attributes of God: *Sovereign* of sovereigns, *I am that I am*, *Prince* of Mercy, and *Prince of Peace*. The grand master of the ceremonies in some instances personifies the *Lamb of God*, in opening the seven seals, the *Great Jehovah* behind the burning bush, saying, "*I am the Lord thy God, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.*" *Raboni*, *Immanuel*, and *Jehovah*, are profanely used as pass words. I select but a few out of many instances in which the name of God is *profaned* and *blasphemed* in the performance

of their ceremonies. The book of their *revelations* is before you and the world; and judge ye upon what foundation they build their claim for the divinity of the free-mason institution.

Again, they pretend that their institution is the "*handmaid* to *religion* and a *school of morality.*" *Religion* is a vague term. They no doubt, however, mean to convey to us that it is the *Christian* religion. There are various religions in our world. Christian, Jewish, Mahomedan, and a great many others unnecessary to enumerate. Hear what one of their lecturers says, in his "Masonic Guide"—James Hardie. "The solemnity of our rites embraces all that *part* of religion from which *morality* is derived, calls our attention to the Great Architect of the universe, the Creator of us all. In contemplating his wisdom, goodness, and power, the *Mahometan* under one name, the *Jew* and *Christian* under another, can join in adoration, all *agreeing* in the great *essential* and universal principle of religion, the recognition and worship of a *Deity*, although differing in some *minute points* peculiar to each. When the lodge is closed, each departs *untainted* by the other, the *Jew* to his *synagogue*, the *Mahometan* to his *mosque*, and the *Christian* to his *church*, as *fully impressed* as ever with the *divine origin* and rectitude of his *own faith*, from the principles of which he has never for one moment deviated in *thought*, *word*, or *deed*." Free-masons have, indeed, copied after the plan of the grand impostor Mahomet. To make their institution palatable, they have incorporated into their rites and ceremonies, Christian, Jewish, Mahometan, and heathen rites; and probably, if they had it in their power would also propagate their religion by the sword. They may with as much truth tell the Mahometan, and the Jew, and the Pagan, that their institution is the *handmaid* of their religion, as the Christian. But let us for a moment examine with what truth they can say, that the institution of free-masonry is the *handmaid* to the *Christian religion*, and that it is a school of *morality*. Religion and morality are inseparably connected; there can be no true religion without morality, and all true genuine morality is bottomed on religion. The first oath they take when they enter the lodge, they violate both the laws of religion and morality. Christ says, "Swear not at all." Every oath taken is in fact profane swearing, because it is unauthorized. It outrages religion and morality as much as the oath which Herod took; it is not authorized, and not upon a lawful occasion. They swear always to hail, and never to reveal any of the secrets they may receive in a lodge; and that without any *equivocation*, mental *reservation*, or *self-evasion of mind*. Thus they surrender their right of private judgment, they chain their consciences; that *monitor*, that *sentinel* of moral action, placed in them by the great Author of their being. However their reason and their consciences may convince them that it may be a duty they owe to themselves, their country, or their God, to reveal some of the secrets communicated to them, they cannot do it without breaking their masonic oath, and exposing themselves to the awful penalty incurred by it. The very first step, therefore, they take, they deviate from the path of religion, morality, and virtue, and every subsequent step they take in acquiring a knowledge of the sublime mysteries of masonry, they stray farther and farther from the road of rectitude. By the repetition of profane oaths their consciences become seared; they lose all sense of religious and moral obligation, and are prepared for the commission of every species of crime. In some cases they swear to keep all the secrets of their brethren, *murder* and *treason* not excepted; nay, further, they swear, in taking one of the degrees, thrice illustrious knights of the cross, "That I will look upon his (that is, a brother knight) enemies as my enemies, his friends as my friends, and stand forth to mete out tender *kindness* or *vengeance* accordingly." In taking the same degree the candidate swears, "Should he know a companion violate any essential part of this obligation, that he will use his most decided endeavours, *by the blessing of God*, to bring such person to the most strict and condign punishment, agreeably to the rules and usages of our ancient fraternity," (that is, to put him to a most cruel death, thrust a spear in his left side, as was thrust into the side of Christ,) "and this, by pointing him out to the world as an unworthy vicious vagabond; by opposing his interest; by deranging his business; by transferring his character after him wherever he may go; by exposing him to the contempt of the whole fraternity and the world during his whole natural life." Can we possibly conceive any thing more directly at *war* with every principle of religion and morality?

Again, many of their rites and ceremonies are awfully profane and anti-christian. In taking the degree of knight templar and Malta, after the candidate has taken the oath on his knees, and his hands on the Holy Bible, he repeats the following obligation: "This pure wine I now take (in the upper part of a human skull) in testimony of my belief in the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul, and may this libation appear as a witness against me both here and hereafter; and as the sins of the world were laid upon the head of the Saviour, so may all the sins committed by the person whose skull this was, be heaped upon my head, in addition to my own, should I ever violate," &c. This is called the *sealed* obligation. The most excellent prelate then reads that part of the Scripture which relates to the election of Matthias to supply the place of Judas Iscariot. He walks round the room with the human skull in one hand and a lighted candle in the other; and these words are read, "So let your light shine before men," &c.; in other parts of the ceremonies, these words are read, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death. Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." Thus the sacred Scriptures are profaned and burlesqued. In taking the degree of knights of the holy sepulchre, the seven candidates kneel at the foot of the altar, and the most excellent prelate takes the bread, and says, "Brethren, eat ye all of this bread in love, that ye may learn to support each other." He then takes the cup, and says, "Drink ye all of this cup, to ratify the vow that ye have made, and learn to sustain one another."

Thus we perceive that one of the most solemn and sacred ordinances of the Christian religion is ridiculed, profaned, and burlesqued. A farcical representation is given of the most solemn events recorded in the Scriptures. The reading of them in connection with ridiculous rites and ceremonies, is calculated to destroy all veneration for the sacred volume. They show little more respect to the Bible than was shown to it during the reign of infidelity in France, when it was tied to the tail of an ass, driven through the streets of Paris, and burned. The most fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion are rejected or ridiculed; faith and repentance are excluded; the atonement and intercession of Christ are not named as at all necessary to salvation; on the contrary, the *sorrows* of *Adam*, the *blood* of *Abel*, the *righteousness* of *Seth*, and the *covenant* of *Noah*, are substituted in their place. The mason is taught that he must "*raise himself* by degrees, until he reaches heaven; that his attachment to the statutes and rules of the order in the end will make him deserving of entering into the celestial Jerusalem." And as a knight of the cross, he swears, "that he accepts of and for ever will consider the *cross* and *mark* of this order as his *only hope*."

To obtain the requisitions necessary to make a good mason, the candidate is thus addressed:—"Behold, my dear brother, what you must fight against, and destroy, before you can come to the knowledge of the *true good* and sovereign happiness! Behold this monster which you must conquer—a *serpent* which we *detest* as an *idol*, that is adored by the *idiot* and the vulgar under the name of Religion."

Such are the teachings of the hand-maid of religion.

Mr. President: I think it impossible that any intelligent man can read attentively the oaths and obligations, from the *lowest* to the *highest* degree of masonry, without being convinced that they cannot be strictly obeyed without violating the principles of morality and religion—and if they are not obeyed, the most awful penalties are incurred. If it be a school of morality, their teachers have been peculiarly unfortunate. I have been a long observer of the institution, although I knew not its mysteries. I judged of it by the rule given by the great moral teacher, *judge the tree by its fruits*. I never knew an instance of a vicious character being reformed by becoming a free-mason. But I have known many melancholy instances of young men of fine morals, fine talents, and excellent education, after joining a lodge to become depraved, and some of them dying a most miserable death. A man of high standing and character, belonging, and who still belongs, to the institution, told me that if a man was not a good man when he entered a lodge, it would not make him so. From a careful examination of the subject, I am led to the conclusion, that lodges are generally synagogues of Satan, and schools of infidelity; that the wit and the wisdom of men and devils combined, could not devise a plan better calculated to destroy all sense of moral and religious obligations. Their midnight meetings, their drinking and their revelling, inevitably lead to vitiate their manners and their morals. No man becomes completely depraved at once. *Depravation* is a gradual work. The student of the *sublime mysteries* of masonry is led on by the light of an *ignis fatuus*, step by step, until he is plunged into the depth of *infidelity*, if not downright *atheism*.

Mr. President: Free-masons demand respect to their institution, on the ground of its being a *benevolent* and *charitable* institution.

I have looked in vain for the evidence on which this claim is founded. It appears to me calculated, not to *widen* and *expand* benevolent affections, but to *contract* and narrow them. The charity and benevolence inculcated by the Gospel is to embrace the whole human family, as is beautifully illustrated in the story of the good Samaritan. The principles of masonry circumscribe it, principally, if not exclusively, to their own fraternity—and that, however unworthy the objects of their charity are. I know of few, if any instances, even within the pale of their own institution, of any extraordinary acts of charity. I know of one instance at least, of a person who had many claims upon the institution, who has received no aid from it. A gentleman married a lady of considerable property; he joined a lodge; became dissipated, neglected his business, became embarrassed, mortgaged his property to a brother; he died, leaving a widow with three helpless children. This benevolent brother seized and sold the whole of the property, and the widow and her infant children were thrown destitute upon the world, without any means of support except that of her own industry. The hand of masonic charity was not, and is not held out to her. The probability is, that many men, deluded by the fallacious idea of aid from the society in case of distress, have been tempted to idleness and dissipation, and by this means brought themselves and family to ruin. I know also of an instance of a mason throwing out *false signs* of distress, he imposed upon his brother, and swindled him out of all his property—and left him, and family, destitute. The mason indeed *swears* that he will not wrong a brother out of a cent; but for this violation of his oath he escapes with impunity.

The various false pretensions and artful devices of free-masonry have been exposed in several reports in this convention. The institution seeks the aid of superstition, and envelopes itself in a guise of antiquity and mystery. Then it pretends to philosophy and letters; to alchemy and the transmutation of metals. These pretensions are too absurd, or too evidently false, to need refutation. They exhibit on their calendar the names of all the great men of ancient and of modern times. Tubal Cain for example. Why not Cain the murderer? Indeed Mr. Hardie says he was partially instructed in the art. Then they have Seth, Noah, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, Zerubbabel—honorary members, I presume. In more modern times, they have the names of Frederic king of Prussia, Voltaire, Robespierre,

Marat, the late Duke of Orleans, Weishaupt, and king George the 4th. In America an Arnold and a Burr. We envy them not the splendour and lustre which such characters shed upon their institution. They claim also a Washington and a Fayette. Washington has left his testimony of the estimation in which he held the institution. He declared he had not been in a lodge more than *two or three* times in *thirty* years: and in his farewell address, he gives a solemn warning to Americans, to *beware* of *secret societies*, as dangerous to the liberties of the people. He virtually renounced his connexion with the institution, and that, too, as early as it was safe and prudent to do so. He was a brave man: he feared not to face the mouth of cannon, of muskets—the edge of the sword, or the point of the bayonet. But where is the man with such *iron* nerves or *lion* heart, as not to fear the dagger of the midnight assassin? Had he renounced or revealed the secret while commander in chief of the American armies, no doubt he would have fallen in the next battle. Fayette, too, when last in America, expressed his regret at the multiplication of secret societies. He had witnessed in France the horrid murders and massacres which were produced by secret societies. Masons claim, also, many ministers of the gospel. The most, if not all of them, were seduced by false representations; and when once ensnared, they knew not how to extricate themselves. But we rejoice to see that many are throwing off the chain and coming from among them: and we confidently trust that the time is approaching, when not a single name of a minister of the gospel will remain upon the lists of masonry.

From every view I can take of the claims which speculative free-masonry has upon our respect and veneration, I am tempted to pronounce them unfounded and false.

I am, however, constrained in justice to say, and I do it with pleasure, that there are many individuals within the pale of the institution, whose merits entitle them to our respect and esteem.

Mr. President: I feel the high responsibility under which we are placed as members of this convention. The result of our proceedings, and of the success of the efforts we are now making to put down speculative free-masonry, will deeply affect the future destinies of our country, and the world, as it regards politics, morality, and religion. The question is, shall we maintain the independence, purchased from a foreign foe, at the expense of so much treasure, of agony, and of blood? or shall we submit to a still more tyrannical and bloody despotism, sprung up in the very bosom of our country? No! I trust not.

I am confident that every member of this convention is prepared to adopt a language similar to that expressed more than half a century ago, by the patriots and heroes of the revolution, in this city, and near this spot, and say that we will support our independence at the expence of our *property, our lives, and our sacred honour.*

Mr. Hopkins rose to make a single remark upon the report which had just been read, begging leave to premise, that if this convention had met for no other purpose than to hear the reports that had just been presented, the time and expence would not have been unprofitably appropriated.

Whoever reads the history of free-masonry, and compares it with known historical facts and criticisms, as to its antiquity, will find means to detect a fraud in almost every step. The object which I have in view is, to ask gentlemen who are conversant with criticism and history, to be kind enough to turn their attention to this subject from time to time, with a view to bringing out the imposture more prominently still.

Several instances have been mentioned, and some now occur to me, though I claim no merit for the suggestion, having received the hint from others. The amount of one is, that Saint Jerome saw a masonic emblem upon the wall of Solomon's temple.

Now it is known that St. Jerome flourished at the beginning of the fourth century; and, therefore, at a period more than two hundred years after that temple was overturned, so that there was not one stone remaining upon the top of another.

The report mentions a text in the Revelations, respecting the white stone, in which a new name was written, as applicable, in point of time, to the building of Solomon's temple, which was about the year three thousand; though that expression regarding the stone with the name written, was not uttered till about the year four thousand and sixty or seventy; more than a thousand years after the building of the temple.

I do not know that this is a subject which has attracted attention at all; but the text is this: "To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth, saving he that receiveth it."

The masonic application of this text, is to a key-stone of an arch in king Solomon's temple. The word stone, in the text, doubtless referred to the jasper, amethyst, topaz, or other precious stones worn upon the finger; and not to a piece of marble suitable for the key-stone of an arch. There is little doubt, that the passage in Revelations refers to a precious stone, upon which a name or cypher is engraven, and put into a ring for the finger. "To him that overcometh, &c. will I give a white stone"—the meaning of which is, I will give him a signet to place in a ring, and in that, the new name. But this is applied, in masonic learning, to a key-stone of marble.

This is only to call the attention of gentlemen to the inconsistencies which abound throughout. Whoever looks into the institution, will find that it is the product of men exceedingly ignorant. I am bold to say, for the honour of my country, that there is not a company of

American brick masons to be found, who, if they should attempt an imposition, would not be capable of building up a more plausible fabric, than this wretched conception of London bricklayers.

Mr. Thacher said, that two or three facts had been omitted, which he would take the liberty to state, as to the incongruity of masonic history and the sacred writings.

In the royal arch degree, the high priest proposes to take the ark of the covenant, which had been deposited at the building of Solomon's temple, from under ground, below the sanctum sanctorum, together with the book of the law, and the pot of manna, which was to be laid up for a memorial, and the rod of Aaron, which budded and blossomed, in testimony of the commission which God gave to Aaron, the high priest, in the wilderness.

This, if we look into scripture history, we shall find, contradicts the words of divine revelation. When Solomon finished the temple, it was stated that the ark of the covenant was brought in and placed—where? Not in an arch under the sanctum sanctorum, but in the sanctum sanctorum itself, where the lamp was burning. It was said that in the ark there was nothing but the two tablets of stone. Here there is an evident contradiction and interpolation. It is declared that the rod of Aaron, and the pot of manna, were deposited in the ark; but there is not the least intimation in the scriptures, that they were ever deposited in the ark. We have no account that any thing was deposited in the ark, save the tables of stone which were given to Moses upon Mount Sinai, and upon which were engraven the ten commandments by the finger of God.

We have, to be sure, an account that a pot was filled with manna, and laid up for a testimony, but not that it was put into the ark. We have also an account that the rod of Aaron, to distinguish it from the rest of the rods of the Levites, budded and blossomed, and brought forth fruit of almonds; and we know not that this rod was in existence, or that the pot of manna was in the days of the Jewish temple.

Here there is an evident contradiction, or incongruity. Masonic tradition runs in the face and eyes of scripture history, and one or the other of them must be false.

There are so many inconsistencies in the first three degrees, that men of sense have been utterly ashamed of them. It was confessed by Dr. Dalcho, that he was ashamed to introduce the scriptures, while lecturing upon the first three degrees, when any person of intelligence was able to prove them false, by the very book upon which they administered their obligations. He adds one or two examples: one of which is, that cassia was found growing upon the grave of Hiram Abiff, when he was buried by Jubela, Jubelo, and Jubelum, by the side of Mount Moriah. But, says the learned doctor, cassia does not grow in the climate of Jerusalem. In fact, it would be tedious to enumerate all the absurdities and inconsistencies that have crept into the three degrees. He speaks of many in his lectures, and makes it appear that these degrees are absurd, and contradictory to a high degree.

Here we have the testimony of a man of high standing, who had taken many degrees, and been in great repute in the fraternity. And with regard to the antiquity of freemasonry, masons have been themselves convinced that these pretensions are false. Dewitt Clinton was himself fully convinced of it, and so expressed himself in a public address. He also discarded the idea that Pythagoras and Vitruvius were masons. These ideas were expressed in his address, at the installation of Stephen Van Rensselaer, as grand master of the grand lodge of the state of New-York; and he considers these circumstances as having done great injury to the cause of masonry. He admits, that their pretensions to antiquity, and their claiming all the learned and wise men of ancient times, as its members and patrons, is utterly inconsistent.

There are many other facts which might be named, but I give these as a specimen. Every person who will go into an examination of this subject, will find that masonic history is full of inconsistencies.

Mr. Read said, while others have shown that masonic pretensions are inconsistent with ancient history, I will show that they are inconsistent with themselves, from the very nature of the case, and the facts set forth; for they could not have taken place at the time of its origin.

Passing by other impossibilities, the idea that Solomon would have submitted to the degrading ceremony of being led round a lodge room with a halter about his neck, is altogether improbable, as well as that fact which relates to the slaying of Hiram the widow's son.

We are informed that all who knew any thing of this matter, were Solomon, Hiram of Tyre, and Hiram the widow's son. They also inform us that certain individuals wishing to obtain the secret word, in order to travel into distant countries and pass for masters, and get higher wages, laid in wait to obtain it from Hiram the widow's son.

I ask why did these men require this secret word, if Solomon and the two Hirams were the only persons who could know the word? or from whom could they get higher wages, if these gentlemen alone were acquainted with that word?

Then, passing over the ceremony of killing Hiram Abiff, this is a contradiction of scripture history; for they inform us that he lived to perform all the works that the Lord gave him to do. Now I ask this convention to look at the scene of raising Hiram after he had lain in the grave fifteen days. Solomon is represented as raising him upon the five points of fellowship, viz. foot to foot, knee to knee, breast to breast, hand to back, and mouth to ear.

Just of a piece are all the ceremonies of free-masonry; and if it be doubted by any, it can be shown in every degree; for its inconsistencies are so distinctly marked, that no man, examining the subject, as laid down in elder Bernard's book, can rise from the examination without being fully satisfied, that she is as false as the father of lies.

Mr. Bernard.—I would call attention for a moment to some points which have been passed over in the remarks respecting the antiquity of this institution. The first is, the pretension of free-masonry to be a source of religious instruction. It has been said that it is not religion; but I conceive that to be a religious institution, which pretends to make men better, for time and eternity—that by which men can be raised from death to a state of glory at the right hand of God.

But I come to free-masonry itself, to the principles of the institution as laid down in all the degrees of free-masonry, from that of entered apprentice, to the forty-eighth inclusive.

In the first degree, the man is taught that, by the common gavel, operative masons prepare stones, and fit them for the builder's use; but as free and accepted masons, they are taught to use it for a more noble and glorious purpose—for divesting their hearts and consciences of all the vices and superfluities of life, thereby fitting their minds, as living and lively stones, for that spiritual building—that house, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

The speaker proceeded to recapitulate the prominent features of various other degrees, including the royal arch, the grand, elect, perfect and sublime masons, knight of the sun, &c. The thrice illustrious knight of the cross swears, "by the honour and power of the mark of the holy and illustrious order of the cross," which he holds to heaven in his right hand, and in the dread presence of the most holy and Almighty God, "that he will accept of, and for ever consider the cross and mark of this order his only hope," rather than a dependence on the blessed Jesus, in preparing him for the right hand of God in heaven.

These, then, are the pretensions of free-masonry, to make men better for time and eternity; but they are pretensions false and delusive. And I would ask the members of this convention, whether, within their own observation, they have ever known men to be made better in this life, by their attention to the principles of free-masonry, or whether they have known one man to be lead thereby from the paths of iniquity to those of virtue? or what evidence have we, that any man has been placed in the glorious hope of a blessed immortality beyond the grave, through the influence of this institution?

Masonry, in all its religious pretensions, is an imposture.

One point more. It pretends to have the righteous power of taking human life; this a very high assumption, and its exercise is supported by facts.

In the first place I would remark, that in most of the degrees of free-masonry there are oaths; the penalty imposed by those oaths is usually that of death. But it is said that no one is sworn to inflict this penalty.

In answer to this objection, I would observe, that the organization of free-masonry is like the organization of any other government. A constitution is first adopted, then laws are passed, with penalties affixed, according to the nature of these laws; and at a subsequent period officers are appointed to inflict those penalties. If in the lower degrees obligations and penalties are imposed, and at the same time none appointed to inflict those penalties, still I object to the argument; for it is clearly proved, that in the higher degrees the duty of inflicting them is pointed out. I have myself taken an oath, which laid me under a solemn obligation to inflict the penalty of the laws of masonry upon all those who are the violators of such laws.

The elected knights of nine are to take vengeance, not only on the murderers of Hiram Abiff, but on all those who betray the secrets of that degree. But I would further remark, that subsequent to the organization of this government, laws were made to bind individuals. They have power to inflict the penalties which they have affixed to the laws. The very making of a law is a manifestation that there is power to administer the law; the affixing a penalty to any law whatever implies the power to inflict that penalty.

But what have the fraternity spoken upon this subject? They have spoken volumes, and sealed their testimony with the blood of an individual. Not only before the abduction of William Morgan, but since, I have heard masons in the lodge, and out of the lodge, assert that it was right to inflict the penalty of death upon those who betray the secrets of the order, and since the fate of Morgan was known, I have heard it justified by the fraternity.

I heard nearly one hundred masons in a lodge room manifest that it was right that Morgan should be murdered, his tongue cut out, his throat cut from ear to ear, &c. &c. And in this conclave, among the knight templars and high priests, there was an almost unanimous approbation of the sentiment.

But I offer a still stronger testimony than this, in the case of the abettors and murderers of William Morgan. These individuals have been named and published to the world, and the fraternity have covered them in their guilt, and shielded them from the just penalties of the laws of their country. They were proved guilty of the abduction of Morgan. [Here the speaker was interrupted.]

The President interposed upon the point of order. If gentlemen were permitted to range the field of debate at pleasure, and to animadvert at length upon subjects, whether proper or improper, then would the debates of this convention be interminable. Though the chair would listen to the eloquent gentleman from New-York with as much pleasure as any member of the

convention, still, he thought the range too wide, and hoped the gentleman would proceed, confining himself more closely to the report under consideration.

The speaker offered a few explanatory remarks, in which he professed to have intended applying his observations to points of vital importance to religion and his country, but would waive further remarks, giving the floor to a gentleman upon the opposite side of the house. (Mr. Armstrong.)

Mr. Armstrong wished to call the attention of the convention to a single point. It is known, said he, that the institution of free-masonry claims an internal power of concealing the nature of its own principles; that is, those things that are declared to be secret. It has been frequently said that free-masonry can never be revealed.

The question now is, how does this declaration comport with facts? It has come to pass, in the forepart of the nineteenth century, and in this western world, in the western part of the state of New-York, that that claim of free-masonry has been broken down. Though it was claimed that this fortress was impregnable, yet it has come to pass that one man has broken down the barrier; William Morgan has divulged the secrets of free-masonry, and they are now fully open to the world.

Is their claim, then, in this particular supported? No. The world have the secret; old and young, rich and poor, may read and understand what it is, and whether it is good or bad. We see, then, that this claim is not supported by facts.

I rise to introduce a single incongruity in the claims of free-masonry. It has ever been claimed, that the ancient landmarks of free-masonry could not be done away or changed. The ancient landmarks of masonry, as they are called, are not found in any single act, sign, grip, or word; but they are all the established signs, rites, and ceremonies of the three first degrees in masonry. I have this from high masonic authority, that these are the ancient landmarks. Now the signs and emblems of these first three degrees, masons claim were established at or before the time of building the temple of Solomon. Be it so; the chart or carpet of the master's degree has upon it the letter G, of the modern, or Roman English alphabet. This, according to the showing of masons, must have been placed there as early as the building of the temple. I have taken some pains to ascertain the fact, and find that the letter G, or any other letter similar, did not exist till several centuries after the building of the temple.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, said that, although the subject of the report had been discussed at considerable length, he would ask the indulgence of the convention to offer additional remarks.

One of the most distinguished of the pretensions of free-masonry is, that it is the "*handmaid of religion.*" We all know, Mr. President, how intimately associated is the idea of religion with every thing that is valuable in this life, and with all our hopes and aspirations, connected with that which is to come. We know what a vast proportion of the population of our country are religious, and with what favour they regard every thing, which comes to them clothed with such high pretensions. It is upon the strength of such pretensions, emblazoned upon its front, that masonry has drawn within its embrace great numbers of the ministers of religion, deluding them into a belief that it was an institution of Divine origin, and capable of making them "wise unto salvation."

To sustain the pretensions of masonry, to be the handmaid of religion, it is called a *charitable institution.* It is not merely asserted that masons are charitable, but that charity constitutes a leading feature of their institution. And what is charity? Its essential principle is an enlarged and expansive benevolence—good-will to *man*—man in the largest and most extensive sense. Every human being it regards as a brother, no matter what may be his colour or condition or character; and no matter to what association he may belong, or by what name he may be called. He is a human being, bound to every other human being by the ties of a common origin, and a common destiny. It cannot contemplate him a moment without feeling the force of these ties; and, urged by the impulse of its own divinity, it opens wide its arms and flies to the relief of his sufferings. It "does good and lends, *hoping for nothing again;*" and is the child of that Father "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

But what is the charity of masonry? Sir, it is the charity of selfishness—a charity which begins and ends with the fraternity—a fraternity, from which are systematically excluded all who are most likely to become the subjects of its bounty.* Is the noble principle of Christian charity cherished by an institution which gives to its bounties such an exclusive direction? Does that association deserve the name of *charitable*, which gives to the ties of an artificial brotherhood a greater strength than those by which the Father of all has bound together the great family of his children?

But masonry fails in its pretensions to be the handmaid of religion in a yet more important particular. The most prominent feature of the Christian religion is a spirit of forgiveness; the spirit which most of all distinguished the life and doctrines of its divine Author. And in

* Hardie's Monitor, a standard masonic work, speaking of the qualifications for membership, says—"Men in *low circumstances*, although possessed of some education, and of good morals, are *not fit* to be members of the institution. They ought, previous to their application for admission, to consider their income, and the situation of their families, and know that freemasonry requires, not only knowledge, but attendance, and decent external appearance, to maintain and support its *ancient respectability and grandeur.*"

what part of masonry is this spirit to be found? Where is it inculcated? Where so much as even alluded to? The handmaid of the religion of Jesus Christ, and yet a stranger to forgiveness! But it is not merely a stranger to forgiveness; it cherishes, it inculcates the opposite spirit—the spirit of vengeance. No man can yield himself up to the *full* influence of free-masonry, without having all the kindly feelings of his nature extinguished, with regard to those who secede from the institution. Nor is this spirit found alone in those degrees of masonry whose oaths expressly bind to the infliction of vengeance on masonic traitors. It necessarily results from the whole of the masonic constitution. Let any private association of men become bound together by oaths, whose sanctions are *written in blood*, and, whatever else may belong to it, vengeance instantly becomes a leading feature in its character; and it requires no extraordinary knowledge of the nature of the human mind, to perceive how eminently fitted to cherish that spirit, is the *secrecy* and the *mystery* of the masonic institution.

What is thus manifestly true of the theory of masonry, is strikingly so as to its practice. To violate its secrets is regarded as a sin so surpassing all other sins, as to place the offender utterly beyond the reach of mercy. Masonry contains no provision for his restoration to favour. There is no seceder, there is no man who has decidedly opposed masonry, who has not seen and felt the force of this fundamental principle of the institution.

And is the character of any other institution among us thus marked? Do we, for example, see the spirit of masonry exhibited towards seceders from any of our churches? They do, indeed, become the objects of displeasure. But does this displeasure assume the character of masonic vengeance? Are they systematically assailed with slander, and made the victims of an untiring and relentless persecution? And what is the sin of seceding from masonry, or of opposing the institution, that it should meet such a fearful and unwonted retribution as this?

Nor is the exhibition of this spirit confined to the abandoned and profligate members of the fraternity. In too many cases is it manifested by men making high claims to goodness; and, what is still more strange, by men who, with regard to almost every thing else, seem to sustain that character. They are good neighbours and good citizens. Towards all others but the objects of *masonic* displeasure, they are kind, and generous, and forgiving. But here, alas, they exhibit a spirit utterly at war with the benign religion which they profess. It is not the ordinary feeling of displeasure at supposed wrong; a feeling which, even in its excesses, exhibits traces of its virtuous origin. But it is vindictive in its very nature; and would seem to be satisfied with nothing short of the utter extermination of its victims.

Such, sir, is the spirit of masonry. We have all seen it; and there are, probably, few members of this convention who have not felt it, in its effects upon them, personally. How many have seen their warmest friends suddenly and strangely alienated from them, withholding even the interchange of ordinary civilities, because they have, in the honest sincerity of their souls, and in the exercise of their rights as citizens of a free government, dared to investigate, and expose, and condemn the institution of free-masonry. There are, to the honour of human nature be it spoken, many exceptions to this remark, among those who are nominal members of the fraternity. They are men upon whose minds masonry has made but a comparatively slight impression. But it is nevertheless true that its vindictive spirit has experienced a living illustration in great numbers, who have become most deeply versed in its mysteries, and whose high standing in the institution gives assurance that they are far from being strangers to its genuine spirit.

Shall such an institution longer delude the world by its pretensions to be the handmaid of the religion of the Prince of Peace?

Mr. Ruggles, of Massachusetts, concluded the debate. He said that he was sorry to differ with some of his friends on one point. He had long been convinced that masonry was charitable, for "it covered a *multitude of sins*." He had no objection that the brotherhood should exercise dominion over themselves, so long as they did not interfere with the rights and liberties of others. He was unwilling to submit to a right claimed by them to control the courts and the legislative and executive branches of the government. Let them legislate for themselves, but not for us. Let them drink out of each other's skulls, but not out of ours.

The report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Seward, of New-York, it was

Resolved, That a committee of one from each state and territory here represented, be appointed to make a concise report on the progress of anti-masonry throughout the United States.

The report of Mr. Hopkins upon the obligation of masonic oaths was taken up, and on motion to adopt the same,

Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts, said, that he was as anxious to forward the business of the convention as any other member, but it had appeared to him, that the subject of masonic oaths was the most important subject that could be considered by this convention; and that this report had the greatest bearing upon the future progress of anti-masonry. What we do at this time, said he, will not pass silently; we should, therefore, have a distinct understanding of the subject in all its bearings.

It seems that these oaths are neither morally, legally, or religiously binding; this is a consideration vastly important. The adoption of this report is calculated to "lay the axe at the root of the tree" of masonry. It is the most effectual measure that we can possibly take to destroy the institution; for if we can destroy these oaths, the institution falls to the ground at

once. If the charm can once be broken—if it can be satisfactorily shown and proven that these oaths are not binding, honest men and discerning men will come out and desert the institution.

I apprehend that infinitely the greatest majority of masons are held to the institution, by a slavish belief that these oaths are binding; they abhor the institution, but fear the oaths; and if we can once convince them that these oaths are not binding; that they have no legal, moral, or religious force, the institution is destroyed. And this is the great object for which we have here assembled. We have not assembled here to conjure up the ghost of Morgan, or to avenge his blood, but to expose to public view the influence which the institution of free-masonry has upon public justice in our courts of law and halls of legislation; and to show that these oaths are not binding or obligatory. It appears to me, that this ought to be one of the most prominent subjects before this convention—that its importance ought to be deeply felt.

We have assembled here to protect our own rights, and to break down this combination against society; and in no way can we do it so effectually as by destroying these obligations.

The arguments contained in the report are conclusive and full. The law takes no notice of perjury, except it be committed in some court of justice. Now, the great cry is, that these seceders are not to be believed, that they are perjured wretches. But they are not perjured villains or wretches. To say so is a gross misuse of terms. They have broken their masonic obligations, but they are not guilty of perjury. We cannot raise too loud a voice with regard of these facts; it will prevent the error from spreading. It is a masonic manœuvre, and ought to be treated as such; we ought to dwell upon it. The opposition to these oaths is the sure foundation of anti-masonry; it is what I understand to be true anti-masonry. I know the general opinion is, that it is an excitement got up about Morgan's murder; and many suppose that we have assembled here to arouse the community by a recapitulation of Morgan's abduction. That was indeed a horrible affair, an infamous transaction, and it seems as if there could be hardly enough said upon the subject; but when compared with these oaths, it is of no consequence, except to show that masons do consider these oaths binding; that they thought it necessary to take the life of a fellow-mortal; to destroy a man for committing no crime, but telling the truth.

There is another thing; if we can break up the impression that masonic oaths are binding, masons will not feel called on to perjure themselves in courts of justice.

Now, a royal arch mason feels bound to extricate his companion, whether right or wrong; and if brought into a court of justice to swear against a royal arch mason, he cannot, if he feels his obligations to be binding, do justice to his country, though he feels deeply the interests of the community. But if he can only be persuaded that the obligations which were imposed on him were wholly unlawful, and, from that fact, not in the least degree obligatory, he is prepared to do justice and act honestly.

Two great objects of anti-masonry are to purify courts of justice, and to emancipate the press. But the object which comes nearest our hearts is, to destroy the influence of these oaths; instead of dwelling upon what is past, we ought to go forward to the great principle, that these oaths are at war with public right. This is what we ought to dwell upon at all times; honest men will then desert the fraternity; the enemy only will remain, to meet their fate in the falling ruins.

A motion was made to amend the clause in the report, where the number of masons in the United States is stated at 200,000, by striking out that number, and inserting 100,000, which is the number mentioned in Mr. Ward's report. On this motion,

Mr. Ward, as chairman of the committee who made the report upon the origin of free-masonry, &c. proceeded to explain the manner in which the committee had arrived at the estimate of 100,000. They had been principally governed by the published documents of the fraternity. He had no objection to the insertion of a greater number, provided that number were nearer the truth.

In a work published by the fraternity, he found the number of lodges enumerated from one to five hundred and eight in the state of New-York. Pennsylvania furnished about three hundred. The chapters are regularly numbered—each number having its chapter—he had not however been in possession of documents which would enable him to determine the precise number in the Union.

In 1815 a regular return was made, in which the whole number of lodges was estimated at less than 1500. And as far as my experience in free-masonry goes, said the speaker, I am of the opinion, that if there are but 1500 lodges, there are probably not more than 500 chapters, making an aggregate of 2000 lodges and chapters. The Book of Constitutions of Massachusetts, states, that when the number of members in a lodge exceeds 30 or 40, the brethren generally find it convenient to separate, and make a new body. In addition to the convenience professed, it delights men so much to be styled *Most Worshipful*, that there is no doubt they improve their privilege to the full extent—in the country, they certainly do so. And I enture my opinion, that the lodges throughout the country, shall not furnish more than from 35 to 40 actual members. There are to be seen, in all parts of the country, some who do not belong to any lodge; they joined the lodge, but became sick of it and abandoned it; or they have removed from the place in which they were made masons, and have not thought fit to attach themselves to another lodge. There are, perhaps, about one third of the whole body, who do not number in the lodges; if these be added to those already enumerated, it will increase the

number for each lodge and chapter to about 50, making an aggregate of 100,000 members. I think this estimate large enough; still, if there is any additional information to be thrown out, I shall be glad to hear it. But we are not to take the estimate of our enemies upon this subject, who boast of an institution coeval with Adam and Solomon.

Now the grand chapter pretends to come from the days of Zerubabbel, and from Moses even, when it is ascertained that it originated in 1747, and not before. Previous to that period the royal arch chapter had not a name, found even upon the books of the order.

We have paid sufficient attention to the antiquity of the institution; and their pretensions as to numbers, are probably as false, as they are shown to be in relation to the antiquity of the institution, or its claim to be the handmaid of religion.

Mr. Morse, of New-Jersey, said, that he had travelled extensively, and been acquainted with lodges in thirteen states of the union, and he was quite sure that Mr. Ward's calculation was even beyond the fact. He had never known a body of masons to keep together over one or two years; they would disperse, in order to hold offices, and he had considered their claim, as to numbers, a "*masonic truth.*"

Mr. Paine, of Rhode Island, said, that considerable pains had been taken in Providence, Rhode Island, to ascertain the number belonging to the fraternity. Masons had estimated their number at 5 or 600; but, upon investigation, they had been unable to make out more than 250. He thought the probable number in the state was about 1000, and as the state contained something near 100,000 inhabitants, these facts would go to confirm the accuracy of the estimate given in the report; as there were probably as great a proportion of masons in Rhode Island as in any other part of the country.

Mr. Phelps, of Massachusetts, remarked, that when the inquiry commenced a year ago, they were told by masons, that the number of the fraternity in Boston was 6000. Boston contains little less than 62,000 inhabitants.

The whites, he said, had five lodges, two chapters, and one encampment; and there was one lodge, one chapter, and one encampment of blacks. The number of blacks in the city he estimated at 300.

Much pains had been taken by the suburb and city investigating committees, consisting of one hundred and twelve persons; they had been at work for eight or nine months, and had taken a great deal of pains to investigate the subject effectually; and instead of 6000, they had been able to find out, so far, but about 800. He was pretty well satisfied, by the efforts already made, that they would never be able to find masons enough to encrease the number above 800; and from the relative proportions of inhabitants and masons, in the city of Boston and town of Providence, he believed the estimate of the report to be a full and ample estimate.

The amendment prevailed, and thus amended the report was adopted.

The report of Mr. Ward, from the committee to inquire and report where free-masonry originated, &c. &c. being called up for consideration,

Mr. Seward moved to amend the report, by striking out the words "Satan's synagogue," used in application to the masonic institution, and by inserting, in lieu, thereof, the words "unhallowed temple." On this motion,

Mr. Ward, chairman of the committee who made the report, remarked, that the phrase occurred only in the conclusion or summing up, and that it was scriptural. In deference to the feelings, or rather judgment of gentlemen of the convention, he would not insist upon the propriety of retaining the words as originally expressed; towards the members of the fraternity he cherished no unkind feelings; to them he would not apply harsh terms; but as it regarded the institution itself, he must confess that no language could adequately express the abhorrence in which he held it.

Mr. Holly said, that synagogue was a term applicable to a place of worship. He hoped that nothing would emanate from this convention calculated to give offence to any man. He would not appropriate to free-masons a temple in terms, by which offence might be given to any class of the community. For these reasons, he would prefer that the phraseology should be changed.

Mr. Boileau hoped the amendment would prevail; he could readily conceive that no language was adequate to pourtray the feelings of seceding masons; but if he had learned any thing by experience, it was, that under all similar circumstances, it is the best and most effectual way, to use soft terms.

The amendment prevailed, and the report thus amended was adopted.

Mr. Phelps, from the committee appointed to consider the proper business to be submitted to the convention, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report upon the effects of free-masonry on the Christian religion.

The convention adjourned to four o'clock. At four they re-assembled.

A resolution reported by Mr. Ruggles, authorising the committee of finance to obtain subscriptions to defray the expenses of the convention, was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Green, a committee was appointed to consider and report at what time the convention may complete its business, and adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. Armstrong, of New-York, from the committee of seceding masons, made a detailed

report, giving a summary of the oaths, obligations, and prominent points in each degree of free-masonry. The report was laid upon the table.

Mr. Holley, of New-York, from the committee to whom the duty of preparing it had been assigned, reported an address to the people of the United States. The address was laid upon the table.

Mr. Maynard, of New-York, then said, that in the language of another, used on another occasion, he would say, "To-day, we have done enough for glory." He then moved that the convention adjourn. Thereupon,

Adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Thursday, Sept. 16, 1830.

The convention met pursuant to adjournment. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, of New-York.

Mr. Read, of New-York, from the committee on that subject, reported by resolution, that this convention will adjourn on Friday evening next, at 6 o'clock P. M. which was adopted.

Mr. Taylor, of New-York, from the committee on the influence of free-masonry on the public press, made a report which was adopted.

Mr. Seward, of New-York, from the committee on that subject, reported sundry resolutions, which were read and laid upon the table. [See them among the reports.]

Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts, from the committee to inquire whether masonic oaths disqualify men for offices in the gift of the people, made a report, which was read and laid upon the table.

The address to the people of the United States, reported by Mr. Holley, from the committee on that subject, was taken up.

Mr. Merrick, of Massachusetts, said, that he felt unwilling that the able and eloquent address to the people of the United States, reported by the committee, should be adopted by the convention, without drawing forth the expression of the opinions of its individual members. This address, he continued, is an appeal to the whole people, on a subject which, in these latter times, has been deemed, by no small portion of them, to be of the highest moment and deepest consequence. This strong feeling against free-masonry is of modern growth. For many years—now nearly a century—the masonic institution has existed within the United States; and, during some portion of that period, has been cherished as an object of veneration and respect. It has met with the favour of the people. The members, and many also who, though not of its fellowship, have been strangely deluded to become its advocates, have represented the institution as scarcely inferior in value to the prevailing religion of the land. In some respects, sir, an extraordinary infatuation has lauded it, as even of more worth than that inestimable religion. If such representations were correct; if the praises which have been lavished, and the charms which have been ascribed to it, were but its faithful portrait, then indeed is every effort to oppose its existence, its progress, and its triumph, most injudicious, and most unjust. How unwise, that we should be gathered together in this convention, to attempt the prostration of an institution, which is, in truth, shedding light and imparting comfort, not merely to the narrow circle of these United States, but all abroad, to the farthest verge of civilization.

I do not yield to these opinions. I concur, sir, in the sentiments which the reported address before us expresses of free-masonry. I believe the institution is not only wholly worthless, but that it is positively injurious and bad; that it is false in nearly all its outward pretensions, and corrupt and rotten at the heart. I believe that its real principles and characteristics, shrouded as they have been in the mystery of its cherished secrets, tend to debase and degrade mankind; and that if all its obligations were practically observed in any community, containing a numerous fraternity within its limits, no government could stand before the inevitable conflict which would ensue.

What is this institution of free-masonry? Is it the work of the wisest of the princes of Judea, accomplished while he was building that gorgeous temple of Jerusalem, which was the glory of his own, and the wonder of succeeding generations? Did he call to his councils the royalty of Tyre, and, with him, and the son of the widow, withdraw to some hallowed recess, where, undisturbed by the claims of people, of government, and kingdoms, and temples, they might devise or reorganise some glorious institution to be sent down to the latest posterity, to bind men together by the strong bonds of brotherhood, and which, with the strength of union, should tend to the high elevation of personal character, the purity of morals, and the advancement of every earthly interest? And is this the free-masonry of our age—the wonderful production of their guarded conclave and anxious meditations? No, sir, never! King Solomon never meditated, never dreamed of such a thing. His robe of majesty bore no such sullied spot upon its folds; and it is as unjust to his memory, as it is false in fact, to attempt to fix upon him the paternity of an institution, which, if it were really the work of his creation, would dim the glory of his reign, and tarnish all the magnificence of his throne. But, instead of this boasted antiquity and regal birth, its age shrinks down before the gaze of historical investigation, and the searching eye of truth, to the very last century that has gone by: and then, as one of your accepted reports satisfactorily establishes, it was seen emerging, with its first grand dignitary, from the Apple Tree Tavern, in 1717. It is but the "creature of yesterday;" nor will it be a perversion of the text if we add, that "it knows nothing." And it teaches nothing; for it has nothing valuable

of its own to teach. The moral virtues which are commended, and the religious sentiments which are expressed in some of its published notices, are borrowed elsewhere for its own advancement: it neither created, nor originally promulgated them, to enlighten and improve the world. Can this institution, thus resting, in its pretensions to its origin and age, upon the most palpable falsehoods, be the great fountain of morality, and the "handmaid of religion?" What religion does it teach? In Christian lands it lays down the Bible upon its altar; but, careless of its revelations, throws it by for the Koran in the land of the Turk. Nor is free-masonry, in principle or in fact, a benevolent institution. The outward version of its pretensions, indeed, vaunts largely upon this interesting feature, which, it claims, belongs to its character: but within, it is, at best, but a narrow, confined, and avaricious selfishness. Where are its deeds of charity abroad? Whose sorrows have been soothed by its kind interference? Look at the facts stated in the report of one of your commitees upon this subject; and you find, that the records of one of the lodges in the city of Boston present the astonishing and appalling exhibition, that while in the period of about eighteen years, the sum of nineteen hundred dollars was expended—or wasted rather—in gaudy trappings, in insignificant trifles, and worse than useless refreshments, only thirty-five dollars was devoted to the claims of charity. Sir, extraordinary as this may appear, I believe that, as a specimen, it does not very unfairly exhibit the appropriation of masonic funds in any quarter of the globe. Let the institution open the records of any of its lodges or chapters, on this or the other side of the Atlantic, and I think it will be found that, in London or in Boston, in Europe or in America, the distribution of charity will compare with the profligate extravagance of its expenses, in something like the proportion already mentioned. I doubt if the records of a single masonic congregation in our country, whether it be lodge, or chapter, or encampment; whether they contain masters, knights, or monarchs, will exhibit a distribution of ten dollars in the hundred of its receipts to charitable purposes. What shall, or ought, to be said of the hoarding, or the expenditure, of the large balance which remains?

If this institution of free-masonry is thus destitute of science and of all means of instruction, if it be neither the almoner of charity nor the handmaid of religion, what are its principles, and where is its character to be learned? They may both, and all, be seen in its secret and tremendous obligations.

At the late inauguration of the high officers of the general grand chapter of the United States at Washington, during the last winter, the deputy grand high priest—the same individual who had been the agent and officer to introduce free-masonry into a neighbouring republic, and which resulted in the direct production of civil conflict and intestine commotion—took into his hand a book of the constitution of the institution, and, speaking of the opponents of the order, observed, that if "they would only read the prayers and charges contained in it, they would not say, 'we are opposed to all conventions of men where such doctrines are taught.'" Who, sir, has opposed them? Who has spoken aught against the moral virtues or loyal duties which are commended in these Books of Constitutions? Has any member of this convention ventured to assert, here or elsewhere, that charity is not a high virtue, patriotism not honourable, and religion not of most momentous concern? No, sir; no such thing. We are opposing free-masonry from the most deep-rooted and solemn conviction of its injurious tendencies; bu we are not struggling against the loyalty which is recommended in the charges, or the virtues which are sought for in the prayers of its Book of Constitutions. Our object and our cause involves no such necessity, because the Book of Constitutions is not free-masonry, nor does it expound its real, genuine, characteristics and principles. Whoever seeks to know what free-masonry truly is, must look far beyond such compilations, and beyond all the exaggerated panegyrics of its apologists and defenders. If any one should be so unwise as to suppose that all the learning and teaching of such works could initiate him into the doctrines and the knowledge of the craft, let him try the experiment; let him garner in his mind all their contents; and when his memory is lumbered with all the treasure he can gather from those resources, present himself for admission to a lodge. He will find quickly, that without other preparations, he cannot cross the threshhold of its steel-defended door; and if he ever enter, he will learn the humiliating and painful lesson, that these outward attractions have nothing to do with the haughty, despotic, and dangerous principles of its secret obligations.

It is upon them only—its obligations, its oaths—upon which free-masonry exclusively rests. They make and constitute the institution. Without them it is nothing: with them every thing which we resist, which we denounce, and which we strive to overthrow.—Take them away, its spirit and its essence is gone—the institution itself is gone. With out them, it cannot be saved by its gorgeous titles, or its sounding paraphernalia; it will sink in spite of its crowns, and mitres, and breast-plates. Far less can it find safety or life in its degrading formalities—in the miserable mummery of its signs, its grips, and its pass-words, or in the absolute nonsense of its Ma-ha-bone. Free-masonry stands and lives, alone, upon its oaths. They are the bonds which hold together what one of your committees has called, "this great temple, whose walls are living men." Take them away, and its walls fall asunder at once; and that lofty edifice shall crumble instantly into dust. That done, the work of desolation will not wait for the slow corrosion of passing ages to wear away the threads and fibres of its cable. They will burst at once. The victory will be complete, and the struggle over for ever.

There are, then, two questions of an importance not transcended by any which will

receive the deliberate consideration of this convention, which *ought to be determined*: Are the oaths of free-masonry known, and are they legally or morally binding upon its members? Those questions are, in the address before us, briefly, but ably and pertinently answered. It is affirmed that they are known, and that they have no binding force.

It would have been my choice, that the discussion of this subject should have been introduced and conducted by others. To dwell long and earnestly on this interesting question, may seem, in one who has renounced the obligations of the mystic order, and who, more fortunate than the grand master in the tragic story of its fabled origin, has escaped from the temple with his life, something like a manifestation of a want of personal vindication. Yet, sir, that is a feeling which has created with me no agitating anxieties. Whoever knows the relation in which I have stood, and in which I now stand, towards the masonic institution, cannot be insensible that I must long since have met and answered this question for myself. It was considered faithfully, and, to myself, was answered satisfactorily. It has been elsewhere met and most ably answered. It is done so in the argumentative report on that subject, submitted by the gentleman from New-York: and I believe, that the views therein expressed will stand the test of the most rigid investigation. Yet there may, perhaps, be some very familiar lights in which this question may be further presented.

But, sir, though I have said that the obligatory character of masonic obligations had long since occupied my most careful consideration, I never felt, nor do I now feel, that I did make, or that it was in my power to make, any disclosures of masonic secrets. Long before I spoke openly to the public, the press had teemed with the revelations of Morgan. The "Light on Masonry," compiled and published by one of the members of this convention, was shedding its rays in every direction.

Great numbers of men of elevated and honourable character, in different and various parts of our country, had borne their personal testimony to the truth of the disclosures. What, therefore, had before been secret was laid bare. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, had told, over and over again, the story of the hoarded mysteries of the craft; and the proofs of the integrity of the revelations had swollen to a magnitude which no careful inquirer could possibly resist. To speak then was little; it was but following in the pathway which fearless integrity had already opened, and which had been made safe by the wide pervading jealousy of an alarmed and resolute people. Yet there was a time, when so to speak was most honourable daring Look back but yet a little while, to the day of the meeting of the first Le Roy convention. Few moments of deeper interest can be found in the records of time. In the voluntary disclosures, and the bold emancipation of the individuals of that body, is seen a hardihood of integrity rarely paralleled. To the fearless resolution and the intrepid virtue exhibited on that occasion I have paid, and shall not cease to pay, the homage of my unbounded respect. There are few men in any age, who, at a time like that, and surrounded as they were, would not have shrunk back from the impending responsibility of their situation. They stood isolated and alone. There were no surrounding combinations to cheer and sustain them in their course. They had no guides but the conviction of duty; no support but conscious rectitude. They had indeed one example; but that example was dreadful and appalling. The light which but a brief space before had been struck up by the revelations of the western martyr, was quickly quenched in the deep waters of Niagara; and the anxious but baffled solicitude of a rising people to discover the poor remains of a murdered victim, spoke in tones of admonition, which could not be disregarded. It was then, that those men moved forward with fearless step in the pathway which had led their only predecessor to shameless brutality and barbarous death. Sir, it was an act of high-minded valour, of disinterested and honourable patriotism, which stands boldly forth; which merits, and I trust will not cease to receive, the decided approbation of every intelligent, impartial, and inquiring mind. They discarded the oaths of free-masonry. It was a daring act; but it was not that alone: it was honest also. Those oaths ought never to have been regarded as having any binding force.

I take it, sir, that on very obvious and familiar principles, the entire disregard of the oaths of free-masonry may be justified. I shall not occupy the time of the convention by references to learned authorities, nor by citations from approved ethical writers. A few suggestions, arising from considerations which we are accustomed in all our daily avocations to apply, will be the extent of the argument on which I propose to enter.

An oath is a promise sanctioned by a direct appeal to God for the fidelity with which it shall be observed. All promises are equally as binding as oaths. Yet from either, and from both, there are common and frequent cases of absolution. The oath taken by the forty men who bound themselves to take the life of Paul, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, is an obvious and plain instance of an engagement not binding. The wrong in that case, as in masonic obligations, consisted in assuming it.

A promise obtained by fraud and misrepresentation is never regarded as obligatory. Go forth beyond these walls into the pleasant mart where we are assembled, and apply to some merchant, whom you deem an honourable man, for the purchase of some article of merchandise. He describes the article you propose to buy of him as of great value, of foreign growth, or manufacture, and of the best quality. Trusting to these representations, you make the purchase, and give to him your promissory note to secure the payment of the price agreed. It turns out afterwards that the article purchased was not in fact of foreign growth, or manufacture; that it is a base, and spurious, and corrupt imitation, of very little, if of any, value. Are

you bound irredeemably by your promise? Can the payment of that sum be compelled? or would not the most scrupulously honest man resist its collection? Carry these questions to the court of law, and it shall be the concurrent testimony of the judge, who represents the justice and wisdom of the country, and of the jury who represent the country itself, that neither law, nor conscience, nor common sense, demands the performance of the promise.

It is on the plainest of all principles, that free-masons are justified in breaking or disregarding the oaths which are imposed on them as craftsmen. They are all allured into the institution by the grossest misrepresentations, and the most positive falsehoods. I shall advert to but very few of them.

The candidate is made to understand, by all the pretensions of free-masonry, that the institution is very ancient. If the Monitor, published by Mr. Webb, and approved of by grand lodges, is put into his hands, almost the first sentence he reads is, that "ever since harmony displayed her charms, our order has had a being." What more flagrant deception than this can be practised? An assurance, positively and gravely given, that free-masonry was in being when the morning stars first sang together! Yet even this palpable misrepresentation is hardly inferior to many by which the initiate is betrayed from one step to another. And I cannot but remark here, although not exactly in place, that before the candidate is permitted to enter within the walls of a lodge room, he is induced to make confessions and assertions, which are sometimes hardly consistent with truth, and which, it seems to me, must often be absolutely false. A formula is presented as he offers himself for admission, which is hastily read to him, and as hastily answered, according to the directions given; so that he declares that he seeks to enter the institution "unbiassed by friends," "uninfluenced by mercenary motives," and "from a sincere wish of being serviceable to his fellow-creatures." To these answers an affirmative is always to be given; but surely they cannot always be given with truth. For besides one of the inducements which is mentioned, there is almost always another—I mean curiosity; which has, I believe, in fact, been the most prevailing motive to draw men within the ceremonies, which he is told are to lead to knowledge, and to end in sublimity. Few men have, I believe, ever entered within the mystic circle, without being strongly moved by a high and excited curiosity. Yet that feeling is doomed to experience an early and total disappointment. He never finds the treasures of learning which he hoped to see unfolded to his view; he is roused by no grand objects, which meet his anticipations of the sublime, and dim indeed is the light which blesses his vision as he is brought out of darkness. Yet for the hoped-for brightness which is blazing within, the candidate submits to a bandage upon his eyes without, and is shrouded in darkness, as a fit preparation for an entrance upon the ceremonies which are before him. In this groping condition, cable-towed and haltered, he is subjected to, and bound by, the first oath of free-masonry. When *that* bond is on, and that shackle fastened, he is brought to the light of masonry; not to the glorious light of day; not to the effulgence of the sun in its dazzling radiance; not to the lights of learning and science, enlarging the powers and capacities of the mind, displaying the beauties of nature and the wonders of the arts; not to the benevolent beams of religion, pointing to the skies, and holding forth the way; but to the light of masonry; to the light, namely, of three burning tapers, *scientifically* placed in a triangular form!

If a grosser or more palpable misrepresentation can be made than the assertion to a candidate, that masonry is of itself a science, or that it has within itself any peculiar means of instruction in science, let him speak it who can. I am not able to imagine a stronger case of deception. From the beginning to the end it is all of a piece. From the poor specimen I have mentioned, the initiate goes on from step to step, and from one degree to another, alternately blindfolded and enlightened, groping amid the absurd ceremonies of the order, in the vain hope of attaining to the ends which he had been assured should at last be reached. But religion, science, and polite learning, will for ever elude his grasp within the circle of the lodge room. When, however, he has been raised to masonic sublimity, and passed several degrees beyond that, and is at last "exalted" to the royal arch, the polite learning of the order breathes forth its harmony in delightful verse. When he reaches the chamber of the council, he may there hear the "most excellent" priest, adorned in his sacerdotal vestments, with the mitre on his head, bearing the inscription, "Holiness to the Lord," mumbling, with an attendant king and scribe, as they raise the "living arch," this miserable doggrel:

We three do agree,
To live in peace and unity;
We three do agree,
His holy word to search;
We three do agree,
To raise this living arch.

So much, sir, for the learning of this braggart order. Its helps in the service of religion are quite as impotent and contemptible. In the course of the ceremonies of admission to the degree of mark master, for instance, it undertakes to give an exposition of that text in the Apocalypse, which declares, that "to him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give a *white stone*, and in the stone a *new name* written, which no man knoweth saving him that receiveth it." This figurative passage, which, if it be something mystical in its peculiar phrase-

ology, is yet, in the hands of Christian theologians, susceptible of a reasonable exposition, is explained by the craft in a manner palpably false. The *white stone* is there said to be the key-stone of the last arch which finished the temple of Jerusalem, and the *new name* written, is the initials of the words Hiram, Tyrian, Widow's Son, Sent to King Solomon!

There are other ceremonies in which the scriptures are degraded, and its teachings and its Author little less than blasphemed. The candidate, when about to be "exalted" to the "sublime" degree of royal arch companion, is blindfolded and hampered with cords. In that situation he is led on, and made to go through what he is told represents the passage across the wilderness up to the rebuilding of the temple, in the time of Cyrus. To him, indeed, it is a wilderness of confusion; for whatever of obstruction can be thrown in his way by the merry companions is accumulated for his embarrassment. Chairs, tables, billets of wood, and whatever other moveable substance can be readily commanded, are piled in his way to convert the fiction of a "rough and rugged path" into reality; and the perplexity of the blinded wayfarer becomes high sport to the surrounding observers. In the midst of this scene of noisy confusion and obstreperous mirth, the candidate is turned aside to behold a mimic spectacle of the "burning bush;" and a companion pronounces, in the language of the Almighty to his chosen servant, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Sir, this is most derogatory to the eternal word. At such a time, in such a place, and for such purposes, what more unworthy, than that a craftsman of the order should take upon his lips the solemn warning of Jehovah, and, as his representative, should dare blasphemously to proclaim, "Put off thy shoes; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

It is by such interpretations, and such spectacles as these, that religion is degraded, and her altars profaned!

Yet these are but brief notices of a few of the direct misrepresentations with which free-masonry abounds. Its falsehoods are glowing and numerous; and if deception is ever to be permitted to operate as a dissolution from the obligations of a promise, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a case in which the principle could be more appropriately applied, than to the obligations of this mystic and hypocritical order.

There is another view of this subject, which will readily occur to every mind. An oath to do wrong, or not to do right, is never obligatory. The case of the "forty men" has been already suggested. The moral obligation of every citizen, with respect to such oaths, is altogether the other way; they are "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." Apply this principle to free-masonry, and see whether its oaths can stand the test of the ordeal.

The address before us contains a faithful and accurate abstract of the oaths of the order. That abstract is satisfactory to me; more so than the imperfect sketches in the report of another committee, of which I was a member, and which, without some amendment, I think ought not to be adopted. I shall not dwell upon many of the topics suggested by the numerous obligations from which the address has made extracts. It will answer all my purposes of illustration to confine myself to one. In several of the degrees, commencing with that of the fellow craft, the initiate swears, that "he will support the constitution of the grand lodge, and conform to all the by-laws, rules, and regulations of this or any other lodge of which he may become a member." This oath is positive, peremptory, distinct, and unequivocal. Its real meaning cannot be misapprehended; the laws of the respective masonic societies of which the individual may be a member, are to be observed at all events. I am not insensible that the modern defenders of the institution, feeling the pressure of this application of its principles, have endeavoured, with ingenious sophistry, to withdraw attention from the plain language of the oath itself, to the exhortations to loyalty contained in the charges published in the Book of Constitutions. But if it had been really intended, that these several oaths should be regarded as entirely subordinate to moral duty and civil and patriotic obligations, it would have been wise and natural to have incorporated some intimation of such design into the oath itself, rather than to have left the candidate to the perplexity of the conflict between the absolute promise on the one hand, and the subsequent exhortation on the other.

It is not from the commentary of any learned and ingenious advocate, who now comes forward to apologize for and defend the institution, that we are to learn the real doctrines of its obligations. Its own words are too plain to admit of any perversion; and besides, the grand lodges have, for themselves, given a construction which is in accordance with the positions which we assume. The grand lodge of New-York has openly proclaimed, "that every grand lodge has an inherent power and authority; that they are an ABSOLUTE and INDEPENDENT body, with LEGISLATIVE authority." In other instances, when disorders have arisen among the subordinate lodges, directions and instructions have been given, in which they say, substantially, go back to your oaths and obligations, and learn there a lesson of passive and absolute obedience to the laws and regulations of our enactment.

If, then, the case shall ever arise, that a chapter or a lodge shall establish laws, the operation of which will conflict with the enactments of the state, the masonic requisition is obedience to itself, and conflict with the government. And whoever of its members refuses or declines this deep and humiliating obedience, may read the hazard of resistance in the barbarous penalties of his own invocation. His "heart must be torn from his bosom;" "his vitals plucked from his body:" and masonic vengeance, still unsatisfied by this bloody immolation, refuses a resting place to these motionless remains, but they must be "burnt to ashes, and scattered to the four winds of heaven."

Such is the result which must at last be reached, if the laws of free-masonry, as they are established in its baleful obligations, are practically and fully enforced. In this light, no one can fail to see, that they are at war with every principle which ought to govern mankind in all their social relations. From the possibility of such a disastrous conclusion, it is the bounden duty of every individual to escape by absolving himself from a connection with, or submission to, such despotic and unhallowed obligations. He should fly at once: and without waiting for contingent aids in the lapse of time, like the great conqueror of old, he should cut the Gordian knot which hinders him in his struggle in the pathway to freedom and to peace.

Sir, from the most lawful and sacred oaths which can be administered, there may sometimes exist circumstances, which create the most perfect absolution. There are no earthly ties which should be stronger than those which bind us to our country. Yet, go back to the patriotic age of our own revolution, and behold our fathers, congregated in this city, in the consecrated Hall of Independence. Many, if not all of them, had taken the long, and complicated, and solemn oath of allegiance to the British king; yet when the grievances of his imposition seemed to them too heavy to be borne, and the oppressions of his government were weighing down the expansive energies of these rising colonies, upon their high responsibility, they fell back upon the first principles of human nature, and emancipating themselves and their fellow citizens from all oaths of allegiance, gave freedom a new birth-place in this land of liberty. Sir, the immortal father of his country won that imperishable fame, which shall never fade, by lifting the glittering steel of the patriot soldier, above the neglected oath, which had once bound him to the British throne.

Whatever was formerly the condition and situation of the members of the masonic institution; whatever were once their obligations and duties towards it, the peculiar circumstances of the present age have now changed them all. There were once secrets belonging to it. It once had its signs, grips, pass-words; its secret lectures and its darkly shrouded oaths. But they are now hidden from the public gaze no more. Every thing of its own has been exposed; and the proofs of the truth of the revelations have long since swollen to a magnitude, against which no obstinacy or unbelief can stand. It were as easy, as wise, and as honest, to doubt of the existence of the cities of London or Paris, as to hesitate in believing that the hoarded arcana of free-masonry have been exposed. Testimony has sprung up on every side, and the concurrent evidence of unnumbered witnesses leaves no way of escape to the sophisms of doubt, or the distrust of incredulity.

What, then, is now the situation of those who still feel themselves shut up, as in the vassalage of this once towering institution? What still remains to be done by those who are yet lingering in the rear? If there were once difficulties, frowning and apparently insurmountable, in the way of escape, they exist no more; for fearless pioneers have levelled them with the earth. No bond can again be broken by the developement of the secrets of free-masonry, for that has already been done—totally, effectually—beyond the possibility of a repetition. If there be ought else which can be disclosed, it must be only of crimes which have been committed, or conspiracies to accomplish them hereafter. And if, in any of its dark recesses, such things are—shall the veil of masonry hide them from the public eye, or its shield save the perpetrator from the arm of public justice?

No! silence here, were participation in the guilt. The way is open and plain, simple and free. Let all escape from the dominion of this despotic institution, and renounce their allegiance to it at once, and for ever. And we bid them come; not as to a triumph with us—for there is no triumph—but to rejoice with us in the peacefulness of a satisfied conscience. Those who have broken away from the bonds wherewith they were once ignobly fastened to free-masonry, are, I trust, seeking for nothing like outward praise—far less for any thing like recompense or reward. They have but done their duty: and for one, I should as soon look for the voice of praise for having kept my hand from the violence of robbery, as for yielding to the most conscientious convictions of duty in the renunciation which I have uttered. It is, we repeat it, a plain duty; and we bid them come—and they will find, that the slanders which have been spent against us, are as unfounded as they are cruel, as harmless as they are unjust. Let them look forth on those who have gone before, and see if they bear upon them the marks of tortured minds, and broken hearts. And if they will look with unclouded eyes, they will behold no withering with anxiety, no unmanly exultation in triumph; but they will see that tranquil satisfaction, and that immovable firmness of purpose, which are created and confirmed by the clearest convictions of duty.

Sir, there *is* an unerring monitor within, which speaks in tones which will be heard, and in language which cannot be misconstrued. If that voice whispers peace, we may be sure that all is well. The storm may beat upon the outward wall, but it shall not perish, for its foundation is on the rock. Let this consideration hush the fears and animate the virtues of those on whom we call, and prevail with them to take that one step, which will not lift them on high, but will establish them on the solid resting-place of peace and contentment. As they depart from free-masonry, its kings must throw off the robe of royalty; its priests cast away the unsanctified mitre from their heads, and tear off the jewels from their breasts; but they will realize, that these acts will altogether approve themselves to the understanding, and place within the heart an inestimable treasure, which the world cannot give, and which it cannot take away.

Mr. Thacher, of Massachusetts, said he did not rise for the purpose of eulogising the address which had been prepared and laid before the convention, for consideration and acceptance. He thought that this would be altogether unnecessary after what had been said by the gentleman on his left, his respected colleague from Massachusetts. The address moreover, he continued, speaks for itself. It speaks for itself to the members of this convention; and it will speak for itself when, (as I trust it will,) it goes forth to the people of the United States. All, therefore, that I can say in its favour on this occasion, would be like holding up the dim taper of the lodge-room to aid the light of the sun. I rise on this occasion to introduce two or three facts to elucidate the principles advanced in the address, and which ought to come within the knowledge of this convention, and every individual in this respected audience. In the address before this convention for consideration, and in the remarks which have been made by the gentleman on my left, we have had brought to view the imposition of the masonic institution, in the measures which have been taken to induce individuals to become members of the masonic fraternity.

I confess, in the presence of this convention, and this respected audience, that I have been one of those who have been duped and decoyed, and made to pass through the degrading ceremonies of the lodge-room. This stain upon my religious and moral character, I do not expect ever to wipe away. But I am willing a record of my folly, and I will say wickedness, should stand in high relief, with the record of the Psalmist's iniquity, when he transgressed the laws of God and Israel, in the matter of Uriah.

I have said that I was decoyed. So I was, Mr. President; for I had held up to my view false representations. I was told by a respectable clergyman, whom I esteemed, and in whom I placed implicit confidence, who had taken many degrees of the order, that there was in that institution, that which was exceedingly valuable to define certain passages of scripture, which could not be satisfactorily explained without masonic light: many passages in the epistles of Paul, and in the revelation of John the divine, to some of which we have had allusion, were to be seen in their literal meaning in the ceremonies of the lodge and chapter. This and many other considerations which time would fail me to mention, induced me to apply to a respected friend and relative, to propose me as a candidate for the lodge. This he cheerfully did.

I was proposed to the lodge before knowing any thing of the outrage on William Morgan. I should have known these facts if, as has been stated, the public press had not been muzzled. But at that time there was not a paper in Massachusetts, and I know not of any in the New England states, that dared record a syllable in respect to these facts. I was entirely ignorant of what had taken place at Batavia.

After I was proposed to the lodge, I accidentally had an opportunity to see one of Morgan's books. It was put in my hands by a free-mason, merely to excite my curiosity, with this declaration: that the book was put in circulation to accomplish a political purpose, and that of making money by the compiler: that in this book the compiler had incorporated certain formalities in the Book of Constitutions and Monitor, and sent it forth to the world as masonry, and wished me to see what imposition was practised. I gave the book a cursory reading. I said to myself, this cannot be free-masonry; it is too frivolous. It did excite my curiosity. It led me to converse with respectable members of the institution, relative to the subjects therein contained.

I conversed with a member of the institution in Providence, Rhode Island, who was a man of high character in the fraternity, and a member of the encampment, who had been master of a lodge for many years, and was esteemed what was technically called, a bright mason. He told me that Morgan's illustrations gave the fraternity no uneasiness whatever. He said it did not touch the subject of free-masonry; that it had nothing to do with the secrets of that institution. He supposed that Morgan was a mason, and a man of some address, but a worthless fellow of no character, a miscreant and drunkard; and that he was not murdered. If he was murdered at all, it was not by masons, but that the mob had beset him on this principle. They said that if he told the truth, he ought to die for violating those solemn obligations, which he professed to have taken; if not, he ought to die for imposing upon the public. In consequence of what was said by this gentleman, and as I had been proposed to the lodge, I went forward and was initiated. As soon as I had entered the preparation room, and after I had been made to subscribe and declare to what has been presented as formulas, they began to prepare me for the rites and ceremonies. I then discovered that it was Morgan masonry. I remarked this to the junior warden. He said that some things were similar, but if I advanced I would soon be satisfied, and rejoice in becoming a member of the fraternity, as others had done; and I was told that Washington, Warren, and La Fayette had done the same before me; and I was, according to the illustration of Morgan, divested of all my apparel, to the last remnant of decency. I was clad in a pair of drawers, and a cable-tow, or a rope, fastened round my neck. I was blindfolded, and, in this manner, led to the door of the lodge, where there were three distinct knocks, and answers, Who comes there? who comes there? who comes there?

I was conducted in, and about the lodge, round, and round, and round. Not an individual did I know; not a face, not even of the master, for he too was a stranger. I had seen the junior warden who came to prepare me, and one other associate. I was fastened with a cable-tow, and how could I retreat if disposed? Where was my apparel? Could I go into the

street in my then situation? I passed through the three first degrees of free-masonry in one night. I went through in conformity with a dispensation of the grand lodge.

The same evening, after I had passed through the ceremonies, the master of the lodge administered the test oath, and gave what is called the check degree. He said that was necessary, because a worthless fellow at Batavia had disclosed the secrets of masonry as far as the third degree, and said if others got our keys, we must put on new locks. From this time, I discovered, that the illustrations of masonry had been studied assiduously by members of the lodges, in order to render them what is technically called bright masons. And I have known those illustrations to have been studied by different lodges, that they might be familiar with the rites and ceremonies of the institution.

In view of such impositions as these, I feel myself perfectly free in denouncing the oaths and ceremonies of the order. If any man judges me guilty of moral perjury, I am willing to bear the shame for ever; I glory in such perjury as this; I came forward and burst the bands, from a religious regard to the best interests of my country, and from a solicitude that young men might be prevented from being taken in the same snare; and if the declaration which I have made, and the record of my folly, should be the means of preventing one man from being ensnared as I have been, I shall feel myself paid a thousand times.

Another thing to which allusion has been made, is the binding nature of masonic oaths. I do not wish to add any thing to what has been said by my colleague from Massachusetts; but will merely state, that the address has taken for granted, that masons consider their oaths as literally binding. This position deserves some consideration. I believe it has not been considered by any member, because members, since the abduction of Morgan, have maintained before the uninitiated, that these obligations were never considered binding; that no member ever felt himself bound to cut a brother's throat, or to carry into execution any part of the penalties, as literally expressed. They would acknowledge that there was a mystical meaning in these penalties.

I think that ample proof has been adduced, to show that masons have felt themselves bound to execute the penalties of this obligation. And I would ask, what is the meaning of all the calumny cast on the anti-masons, if it be not in pursuance of the obligations contained in the "thrice illustrious order of the cross,"—"You solemnly swear, that should you know another to violate any essential part of this obligation, you will use your most decided endeavours, by the blessing of God, to bring such person to the strictest and most condign punishment, &c. by pointing him out to the world as an unworthy vagabond, by opposing his interest, by deranging his business, by transferring his character after him, wherever he may go, and by exposing him to the contempt of the whole fraternity, and the world, but of our illustrious order more especially, during his whole natural life."

Any person who has been in any degree acquainted with the excitement in anti-masonry, must perceive that this obligation has been executed to the very letter, in every respect. There is not a seceder in the land, who has not been followed by calumny, and pointed out to the world as an unworthy vagabond. There are gentlemen on my right and on my left, of whom I have heard it stated, that they are drunken and worthless wretches. I could name one who was declared to be out of business, a street vagabond, going about from shop to shop, and from door to door, without regard to decency or moral character. I have since learned that he is in high repute, in respectable business, and highly esteemed for his religious and moral character.

I will not multiply examples in this particular, but will adduce facts to show that masons have considered it their duty to execute the bloody part of their masonic oaths. We have evidence that Morgan was murdered agreeably to masonic law. It is said by masons that the authors of Jachin and Boaz, and Pritchard, were put to death. But in my neighbourhood it has been said repeatedly, not by the least of the order, but by high priests and grand prelates, that if Morgan had been put to death, he had been served justly and rightly. A member of the encampment in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in my own neighbourhood, conversed with me relative to the abduction of Morgan. He expressed it, as his view decidedly, and he was acquainted with the rights and principles of the institution, and I viewed him to be an upright man, that the masonic law should be executed, and gave this as a reason, that masonic law was antecedent to civil law. He regretted, however, that the Morgan affair had not been conducted more deliberately and prudently, and saved all this noise, and excitement, and injury to the fraternity. And to illustrate his views, he brought an example with which he was acquainted: either a brother-in-law to his wife, or himself.

Peter and John (I will use fictitious names,) were residents in one of the back towns of Rhode Island. Peter was a regularly made mason and a member of the lodge. He instructs John clandestinely in the rites and ceremonies of the institution. By means of this instruction, John works himself into the lodge; he is received as a member, and obtains the office, I think, of junior warden. After having been some time a member of the lodge, it leaked out, that Peter had instructed John clandestinely. John was made over again, and the oaths administered in due and legal form, and he was retained as a member of the institution. Peter very soon after happened to be in Providence at a time when the grand lodge was in session. They summoned him to appear before them; and in obedience to their call and the master's oath, by which he had promised to obey all signs, &c. he obeyed. They had certain resolute members appointed to take care of him. They did take care of him; they murdered him. And I was

informed that he was taken down the Providence River. The report was, that he had absconded.

I will name but one instance more, and that is, of warning a brother of danger. A masonic deputy sheriff pursued two villains to the cape, who had been breaking open stores in Providence. He was successful in apprehending them, and brought them part way back; but they made known to him that they were masons, and he put them in custody of some masonic brethren, and went another way, under pretence, as he stated, of apprehending other rogues. He had scarcely turned his back, before the men were missing; and it appeared he had put them in possession of his brethren in this way, in order that they might be missing. He did not want to dismiss them himself, but was willing that others should do what he was unwilling to do himself.

I have these facts upon substantial evidence, and bring them forward to show, that masons have considered their oaths binding, to the letter; and consequently, the position taken in the address before us, is substantially correct. Since I have been in this city, I have conversed with a venerable and respectable clergyman, whom I well knew in my youth; and in respect to this subject, he told me, that he had been a mason for many years; but for more than thirty years he had had the same opinion of the institution, that it was dangerous to society, and subversive of good order; and that thirty years ago, he had a deliberate conversation with his father, whether he should not sit down and write and publish all he knew. His father, upon due consideration, advised him not to do so, saying, that he would not be believed, and that he would lose his character and life, if he did it.

Mr. Newell, a missionary to the east, some time since deceased, was induced to take the masonic degrees before he sailed. When he took the knight-templar's degree, he was so disgusted, that he said to his companion, "Why have you suffered me to be so imposed upon; my feelings have been shocked by these blasphemous rites. I will sit down and write all I know about it, and expose it to the world, so that others may not be duped as I have been." His friend argued with him till midnight, to induce him not to carry his plan into execution, saying to him, that by such an act he would destroy his character and lose his life.

It has been stated in the address submitted for our consideration, that free-masons ought not to be eligible to offices of power and trust; that they are disqualified by the oaths which they have taken, to fulfil such offices as the interests of the country require. This has been considered on the ground that they have taken these obligations.

There is another part, to which I will just allude. It appears to me, that free-masons who still adhere to the order, have disfranchized themselves. They belong to a distinct and separate government, having no connection with the government of these United States. They have a constitution and laws, which must come in collision with the laws of our own country. Now, would we elect a Canadian to an office of power and trust in these United States? Would we take from Great Britain a President for the United States, or take upon the bench a chief justice of the Union, belonging to another government? I think it worthy of remark, that they who belong to a government, *sui generis* distinct from all other governments, and if they belong to a separate government, the position laid down in the address, is correct, and ought to be maintained. I will not say that all the members of the fraternity are ineligible to office. For there are many who sincerely desire, with all their hearts, to be free; but scruples, and many other strong cords, bind them to the fraternity. But those who adhere to them, and are with them in heart, and consider themselves bound by their oaths and obligations, I do think are ineligible to offices of power and trust.

It is unnecessary for me to detain, and consume the time of this convention. We have the address before us, and I have no doubt but it will be adopted. I shall vote for it, very cordially. It is sufficient for this convention, and the support of it is sufficient for us, that we may all participate in it. We have, by virtue of an *ex post facto* law, passed about one month since, been excluded from the Hall of Independence; but a note has ascended from this saloon, which shall be wafted by every breeze, and thrill on every zephyr, in the east, in the west, in the north and in the south. And I trust, that future generations will find by happy experience, that the trumpet did not give an uncertain sound—that multitudes were ready to prepare themselves for battle.

Mr. Dexter, of Michigan.—Mr. President: I would, with other gentlemen who have preceded me, give my voice in favour of the ability and truth of the address to the people of the United States.

The strong ground taken by that address, I presume to be this: that free-masonry is an empire of itself, distinct from every government within whose limits it exists; that it has its laws paramount to all other laws, its altars and its priests exalted above the religion of the land.

Let it never be forgotten, that, in these United Staes, there are from one to two hundred thousand men, who have sworn allegiance to laws not recognized by our constitution—laws in direct opposition to those of our land—laws cruel and abominable. This is not mere theory in the masonic institution; but has been reduced to practice. We have seen these unlawful oaths developed by the conduct of those who have sworn fealty to them. Can it be doubted for a moment that the developements of masonry, by Bernard and others, are true? We have, sir, the substantial testimony of about five thousand seceding masons to this effect. In addition to this, we have circumstantial evidence that is irresistible. Why was Morgan

murdered, if his book was not true? Why are seceders so bitterly persecuted, if it be not pursuant to masonic oaths? We have the text and the commentary, in the masonic oaths, and the conduct of masons for the last four years.

Here, then, is a masonic empire standing on its own foundation; subordinate to no law, human or divine. Its subjects are sworn, if they are master masons, *to keep each other's secrets, murder and treason excepted, and that left to their own election—to obey the grand hailing sign of distress sent them from a brother at the risk of their own lives.* They are sworn, if they are royal arch masons, to keep each other's secrets, *murder and treason not excepted—to rescue each other from danger, right or wrong.* They are sworn, if they are illustrious knights of the cross, *to revenge each other's injuries, and support each other's political preferment.* They are sworn, if they are elected knights of nine, or illustrious elected of fifteen, *to put to death any seceding mason of those degrees.* There is, moreover, a penalty of barbarous death attached to each degree from the lowest to the highest, with one or two exceptions.

Will any man say, that this is not masonry? The edifice is one, the institution is one. Will any mason deny that the upper degrees are genuine free-masonry? He may say that he is ignorant of those degrees; but if he is ignorant of any part of this institution, especially of one so deeply suspected, he is ignorant at his peril. He gives the sanction of his name and influence to masonry, and he is bound to have every reasonable assurance that the institution is pure.

What constitutes an American citizen? Is it that he lives within the limits of these United States—that he was born within certain boundaries, or has since submitted to certain ceremonies of naturalization? These, sir, may be necessary, but he only is at heart an American, who venerates the pure republicanism which our fathers bled to maintain—he who acknowledges no laws paramount to those of his country and his God.

When a citizen of these United States kneels at the altar of masonry, when he swears allegiance to her laws, he snaps asunder the ties that bind him to his country; he cannot at the same time be the citizen of a free republic, and the subject of a despotic empire.

The address to which I have referred most justly observes, "That all foreigners, even the most enlightened, though they may be perfectly honest and capable, though they may reside with us to their life's end, and be practical converts to the truth and beauty of our systems, are disqualified by being the subjects of other governments. By stronger reasons, adhering masons are disqualified." Of this, sir, there can be no doubt. There are certain ties that bind man to man, independent of all human government. It is the law of love, expressed in the comprehensive words, to do to others as we would that they should do to us. We are the children of the same common parent, the subjects of the same divine authority. Wherever we live, we may be the citizens of that great community, bound together by love to man and love to God. But free-masonry is bound by other ties—those of revenge and murder. The bonds which unite masons together, separate them from the rest of the world. There are ties, where the Christian religion is unknown, which the God of Nature has established, which bind man to man: these masonry has thrown off. There are other and dearer ties, which bind Christians together all over the civilized world; wherever the Christian goes, he may find a Christian brother; but masonry has broken those holy ties with the rest. Nothing must interfere with her dark dominion: her priests, her altar, her laws, must be supreme. Every kind affection, every virtuous sentiment, every holy principle, must be prostrated in the dust beneath the wheels of the chariot of this idol of secrecy and sin.

Free-masonry, by mingling prayers with bloody and profane oaths, by uniting the mummery of masonry with passages from holy writ, by its impious titles, such as "Most Worshipful," and "King of Heaven," by insinuations in the lower degrees, and direct declarations in the higher, stands forth as the apostle of Deism, if not of Atheism. In the knights adepts of the eagle and the sun, the mason is thus addressed: "*Behold this monster which you must conquer—a serpent which we detest as an idol, that is adored by the idiot and vulgar under the name of religion.*"

The sages of other times, who were not blessed with the light of Christianity, felt the necessity of religion. Altars were built and temples were raised to a host of divinities; their praises were celebrated by the poet, and the philosopher bowed before their altars. It was not, sir, merely to catch the eye of idiot wonder, that the splendid temples of the heathen gods were thrown open to view; it was not merely to exalt the priest, that in his gorgeous and hallowed vestments, he burnt incense on the altar of the Roman and Grecian Jupiter. Other and higher purposes were to be answered. The experience of the world has shown, that man was made for religion, and religion for man. Remove from him those sentiments which the all-seeing eye imposes on him, burst asunder the links which unite him to the throne of the Creator, and man is worse than a wild beast. So far from being fit to govern others, he would have no capacity for controlling himself.

Masonry, then, tears asunder, not only the ties which unite the citizens of a nation to each other, but the sacred bonds which bind man to man, and man to his God.

Will it be said, that these oaths, although taken by masons, are not considered by them to be binding? It is impossible to look into the heart of man; this can be done only by his Maker; but it is fair to presume that evil practice is the result of wicked principles; that masonic oaths are carried into action, unless they are renounced by the recipient. I know, sir, of no tyranny equal to this. The despotisms of Europe are liberty itself, compared with

the dominion which this secret society usurps over the conscience. Confine me in the deepest dungeon that cruelty has invented—bind me in chains—my spirit is yet free: the soul cannot be bound with iron bands; it may still wander through the regions of space, revisit the dear scenes of its home, and rise in adoration to its God. But masonry has devised chains which bind the very soul down to darkness and spiritual death. The unfortunate being who is enticed within its coils, is led from step to step, oath after oath is administered; all that deception, hope, fear, shame, and curiosity can effect, is done for the purpose of leading the candidate deeper and deeper into the dungeons of this inquisition; the cords of masonry are drawn harder and closer around their victim, until moral energy is vanquished; and, like Laocoon in the embrace of the serpent, limb after limb is enfolded; resistance becomes weaker and weaker, until the monster has poisoned with his breath, and paralyzed within his coils, the wretched victim of his cunning ferocity. It is thus, sir, that the soul is conquered; virtuous feelings are weakened; the murmurs of conscience are smothered; until at last man's guardian angel takes his flight, and the whole demon takes possession of his soul.

If this, sir, seems to be the language of exaggeration, I refer you to the history of the abduction of Morgan; men upon whose character there was no previous stain, became corrupted by masonic oaths, until virtuous principles were conquered, and they who had been good citizens until this monster had transformed them, now rose in rebellion against the laws of their country. They who were husbands and fathers, robbed the wife of her husband, and children of their parent; they whose hands had been unstained, now found them red with the blood of an unoffending citizen. For these reasons, I say, and so says the address, and so will every candid man say, that those who have taken these oaths, and confess their binding obligation, are unworthy to exercise any office of trust under our free institutions.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, said he rose under much embarrassment, after the able addresses which had been drawn forth by the report under consideration; but he could not permit the occasion to pass without an expression of his views in connexion with its adoption.

We are, Mr. President, about to address our countrymen on a deeply interesting subject. The number and character of those we represent, the subject of our deliberations, and the influence which they may exert upon our country and upon the world, give to the act we are about to perform, a character of peculiar interest.

The spirit of free inquiry has been roused into action by a daring invasion of the rights of one of our fellow citizens. He was a member of the masonic institution. He had violated its laws, and been doomed to suffer the execution of their penalty. The jealous spirit of freemen was awakened, and their virtuous indignation enkindled. Free-masons had kidnapped and murdered a fellow citizen, whose only crime was a violation of the secrets of their order; and those secrets, thus revealed, and thus proved by the acts of masons themselves to have been truly revealed, presented, when brought to the light, a spectacle which excited the strong and deep disapprobation of the community. The excitement, at first confined to a small section of the state of New-York, moved onward in the train of truth and reason. The cloud which, at first, appeared in the distant horizon, "like a man's hand," soon rose and spread across the heavens, and already overshadows half our country.

The feeling which thus has assumed a distinct form, and a national character, was originally treated as wild and ridiculous fanaticism. It was called a "Jack-Cade excitement;" and the men who stood up in the face of a powerful and widely extended fraternity, and boldly denounced their institution as the guilty author of the outrage, were assailed as disturbers of the public peace, and hunted with the bitterest persecutions. They were, sir, a noble body of men. Free-masonry will long have occasion to remember them! They periled every thing in their devotion to principle, with an intrepidity worthy the best days of our republic. I fully accord in the sentiment which has just been uttered with regard to these pioneers of anti-masonry. I have no language to express my admiration of their zeal, their firmness, and their constancy. They command my warmest gratitude, and they will commend themselves to the gratitude of the world, as long as the world shall know that free-masonry once had an existence. Had they yielded to fear, masonry might now have secretly triumphed, and it might have continued to triumph to the end of time, in the successful exertion of its power to execute its bloody penalties, and screen itself from merited condemnation. But republican virtue proved too strong for it. In vain did masons deny the truth of the revelations of masonry. In vain did they deluge the country with slanders of Morgan, and of the men who had confirmed the truth of his revelations, and of all who dared to arraign the institution at the bar of public opinion. The investigation went on. In the face of sneers, and ridicule, and denunciation, it moved forward, and the cause of anti-masonry moved with it. Masons contemptuously denominated the western part of the state of New-York the "*infected* district," and continually uttered their predictions that the good sense of the people would find a remedy for the *disease*, and stop the progress of the *contagion*. But anti-masonry *moved forward!* It reached the state which I have the honour, in part, to represent. Her intelligent population awoke to the subject; and after a memorable struggle of seven ballotings, her "fifth district" returned a member to the congress of the United States upon anti-masonic principles. Pennsylvania, too, became aroused, and came up to the aid of our cause, in a solid phalanx of *fifty thousand* at her last gubernatorial election. And, strange to tell, the "land of steady habits" has caught the "infection," and sent to this convention a delegation, whose character is a sure pledge of final success in that section of our country. The venerable form of one of them

[Mr. Terry, of Hartford] is now in my eye. He comes to perform, not, I hope, the *last*, but certainly one of the *best*, of the public acts of his life—that of bearing his decided testimony against the institution of free-masonry. Sir, there are too many such men in the ranks of anti-masonry to permit it longer to be called a fanatical excitement—too many, standing on the borders of the grave, to permit it longer to be asserted that the hope of office constitutes the leading motive of the effort to abolish the masonic institution.

[Mr. S. was here called to order by the chair, upon the ground that he was indulging in a range of remarks more appropriate to the report on the subject of the rise and progress of anti-masonry, than the one under consideration.]

Mr. S. explained, by remarking that he had considered it as properly belonging to the report under discussion, to contemplate the relation in which this convention stood, to the past as well as the future—to look at the character and progress of the excitement which had given birth to the convention, that its claims upon the consideration of the public which it was about to address, might be more fully understood and appreciated. But, said Mr. S. I cheerfully submit to the decision of the chair.

Permit me, then, Mr. President, to glance a moment at some of the results which may be expected to follow our efforts in the cause in which we are engaged.

Our great aim is the complete prostration of the institution of free-masonry. We would break up its lodges, its chapters, and its encampments. We would strip from its officers their gaudy trappings, and bloated titles, and mock dignities, and bring them upon a level with the plain, untitled citizens of the republic. We would convince its votaries of its pernicious character and tendency, and bring them up to *the all-essential point of absolving their allegiance to the institution*, and separating themselves from it, for ever. We would, in short, prostrate this "unhallowed temple," so that "there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." This is the direct and obvious purpose to be accomplished by our efforts.

But, sir, there are results indirectly connected with the existence of anti-masonry, which present no ordinary claims to our regard. I allude to its influence upon the general character of our country and of the age. In contemplating the subject in this light, events of other times present a parallel which is not destitute of instruction. The reformation of the 16th century, for example, though primarily a religious reformation, exerted, in various other respects, an influence of deep and lasting importance to Europe and to the world. It was not a mere emancipation from the spiritual dominion of the Papal See; but it broke the shackles which bound the human intellect. It taught men to think; it brought mind into conflict with mind; it asserted the right of free enquiry and private judgment; and it kindled the spark of that liberty which now burns upon the altars of our country. These effects naturally resulted from the character of the evil upon which the force of that reformation was brought directly to bear. And who, that is familiar with its origin and its history, can fail to see that, substantially, the same causes are now in operation, and that they are tending to the production of the same general results.

An important era in the history of our own country illustrates the same principle. Urged to the extremest point of endurance by British oppression, our fathers rose and asserted their right to independence. They put forth their strength, and were free. But, sir, there was more in that freedom than a mere emancipation from the thraldom of a foreign power. The conflicts of the revolution brought into vigorous exercise some of the noblest virtues that belong to our nature; and while the men whose souls were thus tried, were forcing their way to freedom, they were fitting themselves, in an eminent degree, for its enjoyment. A cast was given to their moral and intellectual character, which is now visible in all the institutions which they established.

Anti-masonry, sir, possesses the elements of both the revolutions to which I have adverted. I know, indeed, that there are those who affect to consider it as degrading to the moral and intellectual character of our country. I regard it, sir, in precisely the opposite light. The life and soul of anti-masonry is a spirit of free enquiry, directed to the just exposure of an institution, immoral in its tendency, and anti-republican in its whole structure. The spirit which the abduction and murder of a free citizen originally produced, was, to use the language of a high judicial functionary of your state, "a blessed spirit." It still retains that character. It was, and it is, a virtuous indignation at the perpetration of wrong, and a determination to apply every practicable corrective. It leads to a more just appreciation of the value of that liberty, so daringly invaded in the person of a free citizen, as well as of that life which was impiously sacrificed upon the altar of free-masonry. It asserts the right of the people to investigate and probe to the bottom, *every* public evil, and to apply such correctives as they may deem proper. And it invigorates the public intellect, by directing its energies to the investigation of some of the most interesting questions which can engage its attention. Masons may, indeed, deride and denounce it, and exhaust upon it all the epithets of reproach and contempt. But every intelligent, unbiassed statesman will see in it the strong characteristic traits of genuine republicanism; and regard it, even in its occasional excesses, as threatening no serious danger to any thing, but the institution which it is its avowed and determined purpose, to destroy.

Sir, in whatever light this subject is viewed, the act we are about to perform involves a high responsibility to our country, to the age in which we live, and to all future time. Masonry must be destroyed. It is an evil of incalculable magnitude. We owe it to our country and we owe it to the world, to strike a blow which it shall feel, to the utmost limits of its empire.

The appeal we are about to make, is to a people distinguished for their intelligence and their virtue. It is an appeal to their sober judgment, and to the best feelings of their nature. It will not—it cannot be made in vain.

And in making this appeal to them, we make it to the world. In acting on the public sentiment in our own country, we act upon it every where. Europe will feel the impulse we are now giving to the cause of anti-masonry. She felt that which was given to the kindred cause of liberty, by the declaration of our independence: and France, at this moment, bears gratifying testimony to the powerful and enduring influence of our immortal Revolution. Masonry, even in Europe, must yet be made to tremble before the majesty of public opinion; and, if anti-masons are true to themselves and to their cause, she will *fall* before it—and fall, I trust, to rise no more.

Mr. Seward.—Mr. President, as the convention seems not disposed, at this moment, to proceed to the question upon the address, I have thought that I might not waste time unnecessarily, in making a few observations.

I was one of those who in the convention of the state of New-York, had the honour to join in recommending to the people of the United States, to meet at this place, and upon this occasion, for the redress of what you and I thought to be a matter of common interest and concern to the people of these United States. By a large, respectable, and intelligent portion of our fellow-citizens, that recommendation has been heard; and this convention shows that it has been answered.

Now, sir, the address which has been reported by this committee, is the means of extending the principles that sent us hither, into those parts of our common country which have not yet been agitated by them. This address is the measure which is to excite public attention, and to direct public enquiry.

The question is, whether this address shall be adopted. And is there a man in my hearing, who does not feel that it is one of the most important questions which could occupy the attention of this body? Who that is familiar with the history of the rise and progress of secret societies in the states of New-York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and all the other sections in which the question has been agitated, who does not know that it is, wherever agitated, a question of perilous moment—a question either fraught with evil, or productive of the most efficient good? It becomes us to deliberate upon the question, whether we will extend these principles further.

The question whether secret societies shall longer exist in this country, under our free institutions, is indeed a new question; and for that reason it encounters opposition: and therefore, those who have put it to the people, meet with clamour and opprobrium. But without impugning—for I am unwilling to impugn the motives of any man or set of men—I will observe, it is fair to believe that the preconceived prejudices in favour of an institution which in some parts of the country has committed no foul acts of treason or insubordination to the government, may have induced many men to believe, honestly and sincerely, that the movers of this question are, what they are represented to be, disorganizers and ambitious politicians. But, sir, by others than these, it will be admitted, that though preconceived notions of the importance of particular measures, and of the value and merits of particular men, have induced them to shut their eyes to the knowledge that this great inquisition is going forward in the public mind; yet let me say, that the question cannot be evaded; it must be met. It demands and it challenges the attention of this people.

The press has been arrayed, with but few exceptions, against it; politicians of all classes and all grades—men who seek their interest and their renown in the glory and honour of this government—have all combined to stop it. The pulpit has denounced it; the government of the states has denounced it; the press has denounced it; and it has been denounced in every private circle and in every public meeting: and what has been the result?

Four years since, the first unfortunate event (fortunate in another point of view,) took place: and you find in the state of New-York—and I claim but little of the merit of the character which is ascribed to that state, to its most intelligent inhabitants, and its beautiful and favoured region—yes, in the land which is peopled from the land of steady habits and patriotism,—you find, that opposition to secret societies has become the fundamental principle of political faith. And he that has raised his voice against the expression of that public opinion, has felt, and will feel, that it was an unfortunate hour in which the temporizing spirit of submission to secret societies, led him to sell his conscience and his duty, to the paltry hope of ingratiating himself with the inmates of the secret conclaves of free-masonry.

But, sir, this flame of anti-masonry, vilified, ridiculed, despised anti-masonry, which has not had the might of the press, or the good opinion of influential men, who have heretofore flourished in this nation,—what has it done? Look around you, and ask any man who knows the fact, whether what there is of talent and respectability, what there is of virtue in this convention, is selected from the talent, the respectability, or the virtue of any party or parties which ever agitated any part of this community? Sir, they are new-made men; they are the made men of anti-masonry. It is the opposition to secret societies which has called them forth. And in the energy and dignity of freemen, with which, in the face of this community, we are prosecuting this cause, you have an indication of that virtue, of that spirit, that redeeming spirit which called into existence the liberty and independence of this people.

But, sir, this spirit has not been confined to the favoured region of the western part of the state of New-York. It has traversed the boundary lines; it has called forth the same spirit in the sister states—and the same kind of men.

But it has been said that this anti-masonry is the fanatic creature of the politics, the furious politics of the state of New-York. It is not so, sir; the observation of every member of this convention will bear me witness of it. The opposition to secret societies, is the energetic, deliberate effect of the principles of the cause, upon the farmers of the state of New-York. All other professions and classes of politicians have furnished but a scanty quota to the strength which the party holds. Free-masonry, and political parties embrace almost the whole. It is, then, certain, that if so large a portion of this community have become awakened, this spirit cannot subside. The question must be met and decided.

And upon what principle of our government shall we not meet the case? Shall it not be met because it is a new question? But new questions have arisen, and will arise. And it is as unwise in us, to attempt to avoid the investigation of every new danger, and every new abuse, as it would be in the man who, having built a strong ship, and set himself afloat in it, should trust it among the breakers, without sounding-line or helm.

Mr. President, shall we refuse to meet this question, because it is one inconsistent with the exercise of our rights as citizens? If there be any who have thought so, I beg them to reflect upon the principles and organization of the society of free-masons. I beg them to reflect upon the principles on which this government is organized. And then, I say, if they take the society of free-masons in the most favoured light in which it can be presented by its own members and writers, it is, no less than this, a society of men affiliated together by mutual and secret oaths for their mutual benefit and protection. A society which is coextensive with the limits of our territory, and capable of concentrating its power at any and all points of this Union, by means of secret signs and signals of its members.

Now this is the most favoured light in which any, in which free-masons would themselves hold up their institution to the community.

Let us, then, suppose, that free-masonry had never emerged from its embryo state; that it had never crossed the Atlantic, and found its place in this land; I put it to these grave men, who have been reared in the nurture and admonition of our revolutionary worthies—and you are men who value the liberties which you have inherited from them—I put it to all good men and citizens; would you, if the proposition were now to be made, would you, if it were now proposed to establish just such an institution, would you give it your support? No, sir, there is no man who does not better understand the principles of this government. There is no man who for one moment would say, let it be established. Much less is there a man who would say, in view of all its consequences, that he would submit to its rites and ceremonies. And why would he say so? Why would public opinion be thus opposed to it? What are the objects of this institution? Suppose its advocates should say, charity, heavenly charity; would not the statesman and philanthropist say, there needs in this land no such organization for charity? Would not he who understands the principles upon which it is proposed to be established, tell you, that your charity system is but an insurance office, in which you require more to be given to the institution, than shall be given back?

But whatever the arguments may be in favour of that charity, would not all men say, that this charity is purchased at too dear a rate, by organizing a band of secret affiliated brothers, and putting into their hands the means of concert for their mutual advantage and mutual preferment, to an unlimited extent.

But if it again were asked, what are the further advantages? I ask, of those who know and defend the masonic institution, to tell us—tell us, what other advantages they would propose, what could they propose to the society or to the community? Not one. For of all the boasted pretensions of free-masonry, charity is the only one which has at all withstood the four years' fire, and the exposition of its enormities.

Then, the patriot and philanthropist would say, I see in this institution that there is secrecy; he would say, and truly say, that secrecy is the badge of a tyrannical government; it is unsafe and dangerous in a republican government. He would say, were it proposed to bind members by oath to vote for each other, it is the worst feature of an aristocratical government. So, sir, in every point of view in which it could be presented, it would be met indignantly, and repelled, by the people of this community.

Now it is no hypothetical case; it is not proposed to organize in this land a band of affiliated brothers for their own mutual advantage; it is not so proposed, because it is already done. This band of affiliated brethren, which no man, not even a mason himself, would vote for the establishment of, if proposed now, is in full and complete organization. Let me add, if it were known that such a society was intended to be organized, what would be the righteous conduct of the people in relation to it? Would they say, go on and organize your society, establish its government; fortify it, and seize hold of its powers, take hold of its government, and give an opportunity to make experiments; and if no lives are lost, no serious depredations committed, and no danger apprehended, the institution shall stand?

Would they not rather say, we will not wait for the accomplishment of this scheme of tyranny. Did our forefathers wait?

Three cents tax upon a pound of *tea* was a small matter; but it was the entering wedge, which this community would not suffer to be applied to the fabric of her liberties. And now,

if this institution does exist, and does exist with no more serious charges than I have brought, and can maintain against it; and if the question is, whether it shall stand or fall, who can hesitate to say that it must descend to the shades from which it emanated? It cannot be otherwise. It is the intelligence of this community which is arrayed against the organization of secret societies, which may endanger the public peace, and endanger the public welfare; and upon that there can be no mistake.

Let this address go forward to the world, to this community, and this great people; and just so sure as it goes, just so sure will it return back to those who send it, with the blessings and thanks of a redeemed people. I will not draw a picture of the evil consequences which must result to this people from the perpetuity of secret societies; I will not look forward to the period, when in time of peace our government shall be subverted by factions and secret organizations; I will not look to the time, when the public peace shall be disturbed by the lawless acts of men, directed by the midnight conclave; I will not look forward to the time when the arm of this government shall be unnerved in war, by the secret factions of designing demagogues!

Such a time I may, in the prophetic spirit of another, be enabled to say, may come! and if it must: *Tarda sit illa dies, et nostro serior ævo*—"Long may it be before that day arrives, and after our period of existence."

Mr. Walker, of Massachusetts, rose to read the celebrated letter of John Anderson to a member of Congress, offering him a bribe of 500 dollars, for his assistance in procuring the passing of an act then pending, for the allowance of a claim of Anderson's. The letter contained an appeal to the member as a supposed brother mason. The honourable gentleman happening, however, not to be a mason, exposed him. He referred to the proceedings of Congress at the time, for this letter, and the facts regarding it.

Mr. Cooke said, he would detain the convention but a moment. It had been said in the report, that the binding link, the strength of the whole chain, consisted in the force of masonic obligations. He thought it highly important that it should be well understood by the whole community, why it is considered right and proper to violate masonic obligations. Ample justice had been done to the seceders; but, he continued, I would barely remark, that, in comparing their example with that of our forefathers, and particularly where Washington is alluded to, the circumstances do not bear a very striking analogy.

It has been urged and established, that masonic oaths from the commencement are not binding; that they have no force, having been imposed by fraud and imposition. But what was the oath which Washington and his compatriots took? Was it an oath which was from the commencement void and of no effect? Not agreeable to the laws of our country, or the laws of Great Britain? The oath which they took was lawful; it was commendable, it was in conformity to their constitutional birthright. Such was the oath imposed on the men of that time.

Yet when necessity required it, did they hesitate to throw off the shackles, and declare that oath void? We see that the obligation, which was mutual protection, had been withdrawn; and from that time the oath became void and null, and was so treated.

When the fraternity resort to the character of that great man; when they invoke his spirit to rise up and support masonry, it is humiliating in the extreme; that the spirit of that man should be invoked for the support of that which he despised and renounced; and shall the departed spirit of that man be alluded to, to support an institution like this, which he is well known to have renounced and condemned?

This is a circumstance which I thought worthy of consideration. The seceders have alluded to many instances where masonic oaths have taken effect, contrary to the oath of allegiance, when imposed upon the recipient.

There was one instance which came to my own knowledge: an acquaintance of mine, residing in Canada, was an officer in the British service during the revolutionary war. He was of that class termed tories, a native of New-Jersey; and while stationed in New-York, he was employed as a spy; he was respectable, and in his Majesty's service. That man declared, that when he was found to be a spy in the American camp, he made himself known as a mason, and means were adopted for making his escape.

Not long after this the same person who had effected his release, was thrown into the British camp, and apprehended as a spy; and, by the *merest accident*, this individual found out that his friend was now in confinement with the British army; he felt impelled to seek out the culprit, and to take measures, by which he effected his escape.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, Mr. Armstrong, of New-York, and Mr. Morse, of New-Jersey, addressed the chair in support of the address. No notes of these remarks, sufficiently accurate for publication, have been received up to the time when it was necessary to send these sheets to the press. They will appear in an appendix, if received in time.

The address was unanimously adopted, and a resolution passed by unanimous consent, that it be subscribed by every member of this convention with his name.

Mr. Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, made a report on the Presidential nomination, concluding with a resolution. [See the Journal and the Reports.]

The report and resolution were laid upon the table.

Adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

Thursday, 16th Sept. 1830.

The report of the committee on the spirit of anti-masonry being taken up,

Mr. Ward, of New-York, moved that it be adopted. He said—This, Mr. President, is the spirit in which we meet: it is a spirit with which we are all acquainted, and one that I wish all men were perfectly familiar with. The report dates the origin of this spirit some years past. It does not commence with the offence which brought forth the anti-masonry of this day. It goes back to that period when the writings of certain distinguished citizens and foreigners first awakened a spirit of opposition to free-masonry in this country.

It is an interesting fact, and one important to be known, that the spirit of anti-masonry existed many years ago in this country; and yet most of us were born strangers to it. Shall it be so with the anti-masonry exhibited at this day? Does the same fate await our efforts, which has befallen the efforts of our predecessors?

This is an important question, involving the interests of the whole cause.

Among those who distinguished themselves of old in opposing free-masonry, were masons of high standing. The first and principal among them was professor Robison, one who in early life distinguished himself in the British navy. He accompanied General Wolfe to this country, was at the conquest of Quebec, dwelt in Russia in the service of the Russian government, was recalled after three years from Russia, to be made professor in the university at Edinburgh. He was one of the first lights of anti-masonry. His character and integrity were of the highest order. He was afterwards elected a member of the American philosophical society, of which Mr. Jefferson was president. He was also elected a member of the imperial society at Petersburg, of which there can be but six foreign members on earth.

Such a man as this, in love, candour, and truth, came forward and testified boldly and frankly, giving his declaration under his own name, showing the dangers of free-masonry, especially the higher degrees. He was accompanied by Barreul. While one, a Frenchman, was writing in one part of the world, the other, a Scotchman, closeted in Edinburgh, each unknown to the other, was writing upon the same subject. They both wrote in the same spirit, each resorting to the same documents. These men, in all the efforts made at that time, were put in the front of battle.

They were distinguished men, especially Dr. Robison. Their weight of character and previous fame brought around them men of standing and of character; and yet, while we find the names of many of their inferiors immortalized, the names of these distinguished individuals have been entirely overwhelmed, and their reputation grossly injured.

I can speak for one and for a great many: the names of Barreul and Robison were only known to me, until three years past, as names of reproach. Had I been thrown in their way, I should have shuddered at their approach—so effectually had the many-mouthed monster assailed their character. Yet the spirit of anti-masonry was then as it is now; it came forth with mildness, with patriotism, and with documents to sustain it; but free-masonry was too strong for it.

Now, let us look around, and see what is better in the prospect at this day, to give courage to those who come out from the fraternity, and to afford them the power of escaping the fate of those great men. One of the first things, and one of the great things, to secure men of this age against a similar fate, is the concentration of moral force, which we are able to produce by the action of our political institutions.

Now we can array men, by the simple organization which the course of politics takes in this country, in a manner which no human, no other moral effort, is capable of. It is in this course, that anti-masons of the present day have a reasonable hope to escape the fate of their predecessors, and in this course alone. I know of none other by which they can expect to conquer the spirit of free-masonry, and to come off triumphant.

The spirit of anti-masonry has ever been one of kindness and correctness. It will be found so in the writings of Robison and Barreul. The works of these men, instead of being of an evil-minded, calumniating, prevaricating character, will be found among the most correct, explicit, and documentary productions ever written. It is especially so with that of Barreul. Their efforts were not directed against free-masons, but against the institution. The true spirit of anti-masonry cares not for men, neither masons nor anti-masons—it cares for things. It takes care for the system of free-masonry, to put it away, and to defend the community against this dangerous and secret enemy.

The same course of calumny which was pursued against those who fought the battle thirty or forty years ago, is adopted against anti-masons of the present day. We are charged with being in pursuit of men; with proscribing men; and aiming our shafts at men. But far be it from us; this is not our spirit; it is not the spirit of anti-masonry. I can speak with confidence; for if the saying be true, "*once a mason, always a mason,*" then I am a mason, and I may be allowed to speak freely, both for the spirit of *free*-masons and of *anti*-masons. I think I may be said in this way to understand the subject.

It has been charged upon men, standing as I do, that they have abandoned the institution without consulting with their brethren. If we have gone heedlessly against our brethren, we are to blame; but the fact is otherwise; we have wearied them out with intreaties; the anti-masons have not gone carelessly against their brethren in the institution. Those who have seceded have made their first efforts with the masons themselves; we knew not how to give them up, we will never give them up; we have looked to them, and will look to them, as good

men and brethren; and while they are adhering and we depart from the institution, we count them as unfortunate, instead of traducing and vilifying their name; we impute it to their misinformation, and to the blindness brought upon them by the manifold pretensions of free-masonry, and not to their love of the follies of the lodge-room.

It is true, Mr. President, and I am sorry to say it, that those who have seceded, and have been placed in the front of the battle, are represented and regarded as men of desperate character, and desperate principles; men who seek for nothing but a revolution, by which they may gain advantage; as those who have now no hold on life or society. I wish to set this matter in its true light; to make those who are now under the sound of my voice acquainted with some of the facts attending the first operations in this business. While I give a word of my own experience, I will speak for a great many others.

First, seeing the dangerous consequences which grow out of the masonic institution, what should one do but deal with his brethren? This was done—it was done extensively, it was done kindly. And the uniform result was, and there was not an exception for many months, that every effort of the kind was repelled by the brethren of the masonic institution; they shut their ears and drew away the shoulder; they refused to hearken. Finding that nothing could be done by this course in Massachusetts, an appeal was made to gentlemen, masons, in the west of New-York, and in the midst of their capital, to some of their foremost men; an effort was made from house to house, as Paul preached the gospel, and, I trust, not a little in the spirit of the gospel; to deal with them man by man; in this hope, that if the truth was not in this breast, they might kindly put it there; and if it was, that they might become wise, before the great public obtained the knowledge; that if free-masonry were an imposture in all its parts, they should come out from it, and throw away the bone of contention, before it was ignominiously wrested from their hands.

What was the result? After weeks of labour, and hard labour, receiving many times harsh and unkind words, and sometimes a repulse, ten men, free-masons, convened in one room, and, though they had no tyler at the door, they had no intruders. We went over the whole subject of masonic pretensions with carefulness, and examined it closely, and calmly; those present agreed as to the truth, but could not agree what to do with it; and they dispersed. The views advanced there were such as have been advanced here, but then they were submitted to the fraternity only. A plan was well matured; it was thought that something might be done, by sending forth a man in the spirit of love and unity, one of their own members, to go round and instruct masons in the deceitfulness of the arts and mysteries of free-masonry; and to give him countenance, they should furnish him with letters of introduction to influential and leading masons in other places; but this plan failed—the brethren could not consent to it.

Then what should we do? There was no other way left but to come out publicly and separately, unless we could consent to let the imposture go on unheeded, while it trampled our rights, with our reputation, in the dust.

This is the spirit of anti-masonry—a candid and an independent spirit, which dealt with free-masons at the beginning, and seeks still to do so, by making them acquainted with facts before unknown to them; clearly proving that they labour under a mistaken view of the character of the mystery. It seeks in kindness to bring them from the strong grasp of their adversary; it seeks to do them no harm, but to deliver them from bondage, to rescue them from the iron yoke of a mystical despot. So much for the spirit of kindness.

There is another view. The spirit of anti-masonry aims at the destruction of free-masonry; it seeks its object by means well set forth in the documents presented to this convention. Its aim is to root out this vicious plant from all our soil, and I trust even more; for I hope it is not a spirit circumscribed like the obligations of masonry; that it does not regard merely the little circle of one state, or of the United States; that it does not regard North America alone; but that it is a broad and liberal spirit, embracing the whole world.

We have lessons of instruction from free-masonry, of what it is necessary for us to do. It is a maxim of that institution, that every mason is every where a mason; and I wish every anti-mason to remember it, that "*every mason is every where a mason.*" The illustrations of history will show the truth of this maxim. The anecdote related by the gentleman from N. J. (of one who, upon the American frontier, by a singular interchange of civilities between national enemies, rescued the guilty traitor from apprehension,) is an illustration of the truth of this maxim. And there are a thousand such things to be gathered up in the history of the world.

On this principle of the order, we are not secured against the system, by rooting it out of one county, or state, or out of the United States, or even out of the western hemisphere. I would go on no Quixotic expedition; I would not advocate measures which might seem like seeking battle with those not fairly before us. But we ought to view the spirit of anti-masonry as opposed to free-masonry, wherever it exists; we are but poorly acquainted with our enemy, if we expect to triumph by any partial success. Though we expose the mystery at once, it has the power of extending itself in new degrees; if expelled from Philadelphia altogether, it would not be long before it would push in from New-York and Baltimore, and fasten itself upon the vitals of the city. It would return with threefold vigour. It is the confident boast of the fraternity, that it has power, when this storm is over, to rise again, take root deeper, and push forth its branches wider. If we engage at all, we engage with the monster as it exists

in all the earth. The grand officers of the grand lodges hold regular communications, from New-York to London; from Charleston to Paris; and probably from Philadelphia to Amsterdam: the fraternity are one—a single band, closely united in all Christendom; strike one, and all are wounded; this is their nature; and as such, we have to make our arrangements to meet them. We have to seek for the enlightening of the public mind; for the setting forth of the true character of the institution, all over the earth; and thus we may defend ourselves, not only against the machinations, but against the return of free-masonry. It is a great institution, and as such, calls for the powerful and determined spirit of opposition. It has been tried in warfare, it is a veteran in desperate struggles, and it remains yet to be subdued.

We have to meet with difficulties, which will call forth from every supporter of our cause the best exertions of talent, and the kindest of feelings towards those opposed to us, and the highest efforts of freemen, in behalf of our civil liberties and civil institutions.

I hope it will go on triumphing. I hope that we shall keep in mind those past times, when the friends of our cause came forth and were put down; swept away with a flood of calumny; and that we shall be nerved by their unworthy fate, the stronger for this battle; that we may use greater diligence; that we may go on with a quicker step, and livelier hope, to a speedy victory over the institution—not only in this land, but throughout the earth.

The report was then adopted.

Mr. Morris, of New-York, from the committee on the truth of the disclosures of masonry, made a report, which being taken up,

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, said, in reference to this report, that the masons resorted to falsehood and prevarication, in order to impress the idea on the community that the disclosures made of masonry were not true. A mason pretending candour, said to him, when questioned upon the truth of the oath, as laid down in "Bernard's Light on Masonry," "I can assure you upon the honour of a man, that I never took such an oath." I asked him whether it was not a part of it—he said nothing. I asked another, whether the penalties were true—he was silent. A day or two afterwards he came to me and said, "You inquired of me something about the penalties of masonry—I never saw them inflicted." He then talked about a book eulogising masonry, and endeavored to prove that it made men love the ladies better! Mr. Todd then gave a description of a lodge, and concluded by saying that a dagger was used in it,—and for what? It was an instrument used by no nation in the whole world for capital executions. In some countries, for the execution of the laws, the guillotine was used—in some the rope, and in others the bow-string, but in none the dagger. It was, and always had been, the instrument of the assassin, from the murderers of olden time to the present.

Mr. Read, of New-York.—It perhaps becomes my duty to bear testimony to the truth and disclosures of free-masonry. I rise not to boast; for when I look back upon the masonic degradation to which I have submitted, it gives me no pleasing sensation. But in the same spirit as I then trusted, and now trust, of duty to my God and my country, when I saw naked before my eyes, in a land of freedom, masonry triumphing over the laws of the land, I considered it my duty to burst her shackles, and declare that this book (Light on Masonry) may go forth to the world with my testimony to its truth. I declare in the presence of this audience, that substantially true are the disclosures of free-masonry, as found in Elder Bernard's book. I ask not your sympathy for submitting to the ceremonies of initiation—being duped into them. I ask not your sympathy because I have broken my allegiance to the institution. No, sir, I look upon that act as one of the proudest of my life.

What claim have they upon me or others, when they have set at nought the laws of God and of man? Yea, sir, under fraud and deception did they call me into her embrace; and when safety permitted, I broke forth. It is true, sir, when she held out to me that the truths of Revelation would be better understood through masonry, I ought not to have been duped by it. Did the author of Revelation indict passages which could only be expounded in the lodge-room, with a tyler at the door, filching from the pockets of them that would learn? No, sir, I should have known better; but she holds forth to allure us great earthly benefits. She tells us of teaching geometry, the arts and the sciences. She recompenses, and more than recompenses, what she asks for initiation. But look at the book—look upon the degrading steps which her rules compel you to take. Where is her science? Her science consists in telling the candidates that *Mahhah* means *Marrow*.

I ask, then, upon the ground of fraud and deception, can she claim me, and bind me down to her bloody altars, when under the basest of impositions, she made me swear allegiance to her? No, sir. Does she not inculcate duties diametrically opposed to our duties to government? She has no rightful claim upon me to conceal the crime of a master mason, murder and treason only excepted, or left to my own election. But when she carries her demands still further, and when the hand of a brother is imbued in the blood of some citizen, and she requires concealment, without exception of murder or treason, it would be treason to my country, if I should support and uphold her. I have broken away from her: it was not done in a spirit of madness and revenge. I declared my conviction while her followers were assembled around me, before I proclaimed them to the world. I asked them to send back their charter, and to become free citizens of a free land. These proposals were met only by expressions of insult and looks of vengeance. I still followed her with kindness in the public prints, and asked her followers to examine the principles on which she was built; supposing there might be some who yet had the candour to look at her real character; and I am happy to say there were those who

did so. I simply asked them to consider, when accused by her enemies of concealing treason and murder, whether in the hour when her temple should fall and bury her in ruins, they could devise the means of escape. Did she return this spirit of kindness? No, sir; for this simple demand, was I hunted down and persecuted. Such I conceive to be the difference of her spirit from that of anti-masonry; for men who had called me friend—those whom I had reason to believe respected me, turned my bitterest foes. I say, then, can an institution which leads her members into such acts, whose spirit is that of cruelty and revenge, be worthy of our respect and allegiance?

It is true, that the book of which William Morgan is styled the author in the report just read, and which he sealed with his blood,—I say, it is so, that the truth of that book was denied in the same community and by the same citizens, who had seen Morgan dragged from his home, never to return, for publishing that book. The same citizens who had seen his widow and orphans left dependant, for no other object (as they testified themselves, to the court, while pleading guilty of the abduction of Morgan,) than that of preventing him from revealing the secrets of free-masons—those same citizens declare that same book is not masonry! If, then, she will teach her members to deny the truth, when there are such convincing proofs, will she not teach them to deny it in every instance? But I ask, sir, in what spirit, and in what manner does she deny the revelations as they now stand before the world? Do they deny, like innocent men? Do her followers, like the followers of truth, take the same measures and course that others take, to dispel calumny and abuse on their institution? Has she ever met it in the face of day? Has she ever been willing to meet and canvass the subjects of the revelation? No, sir; she has for ever shrunk back into her dark caverns, for the purpose of exciting and concerting new vengeance and new methods of calumny, to stop the mouths of her opposers. She has heard, in open court, of the truth of the disclosures: evidence has been introduced to show that they were true. Free-masons of high standing—men high in life, and in the community—have stood by and heard witnesses swear to it. If false, why not come forward and so swear. If this was a lie, if the book is a calumny, I ask why do they not, at such time, and on such an occasion, prove it to be so? Men adhering to the institution, men who believe their masonic oaths binding, have been called under such circumstances: they have then appeared: the question has been put to them, Is that book substantially true? What was their answer?—was it No? No, sir: it was a refusal to testify at all, even when subjected to heavy fine and imprisonment for not testifying. Such is the character of the proof on one side: and we, who have discarded her, stand ready to meet them at any time—we are ready to declare the truth of the proposition; but she dare not meet inquiry, controlling as she supposes public opinion, and grasping as she does, to withhold all methods of communication from the public eye. She supposed that she could silently trample us down, and all our opposition; but the book has gone forth to the world, and has been testified to, by many, and it has not been denied in any such full and public manner as to excite a doubt. Where any dispute has arisen, it has not been denied. When met, and called upon to prove it false, she stands, and must stand, convicted. It has been here said, in some remarks which have been made, that the penalty of her oaths were never calculated to be enforced. I will detain you but a few moments on this point. For if there should be any doubt, in addition to the convincing proof which has been offered here, and which no man can deny, who will open his eyes and examine it, after the convincing proofs which silenced the author of the revelation of the three first degrees, I will make two or three remarks on the degree referred to by the gentleman from Pennsylvania; premising, that in every stage, the candidate is required to swear, that he will abide by all the ancient usages of the society. This degree was chosen, and put into their books; and is in all their books, for the purpose of telling the manner of execution. It was founded on the death of a traitor, a man who, from the nature and tendency of the degree, having told masonic secrets, and knowing the penalty that awaited him, had fled; and Solomon had despatched messengers to bring him back; but they, in their zeal to execute the penalty, had not waited till he was brought before king Solomon, to receive sentence, but gave the fatal blow in the cavern where he was found. Solomon is represented, at first, as being a little displeased; but after informing them that they must have orders from Jerusalem, the assassins are made the first men of the degree, and are exalted to its highest honours. It must be referred to Jerusalem. This is explanatory of the remarks of the gentleman from New-York, when remarking about Morgan confined in Fort Niagara. After the gentlemen had met and consulted on his murder, and concluded they could not do it that night, they told him, that they must go to Jerusalem, that in this degree they were to go to Jerusalem for the executioner.

But the time of the convention has been sufficiently spent upon this subject, though an important one—the corner-stone upon which is built anti-masonry. For if these obligations be not true, what interest has anti-masonry to oppose them? It is now four years since some of the facts in this case have been before the world; and almost three years, have the remainder been known. This institution has been arraigned at the bar of public opinion, and why does she not answer? She cannot; she dare not: let her stand, then, convicted. And what an interest has this convention, what a high and deep interest has all this community, and the land, if these oaths are true! I ask, then, as free citizens—as people jealous of your liberties, to look at Elder Bernard's Light on Masonry: read there in these degrees, the foul conspiracy which she may conceive in her dark caverns, when no eye can be upon her, when no arm can inflict the penalty. I say, then, act as becomes free men—as the disciples of those who, in

yonder building, pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour, in defence of that instrument.

Mr. Stevens.—Mr. President, before this report is adopted, I shall trouble you for a few minutes, in stating the reasons which induce me to vote for its adoption. I consider this the most important report to come before this convention, or upon which we shall be called to act. It embraces the whole foundation upon which the superstructure of anti-masonry has been built, and is to stand, so long as it shall stand. If the report, with regard to these disclosures, is true, then we need not call on any man, and ask him whether masonry is to be justified or not? For I venture to say, all that is necessary in an intelligent community, is, to present to disinterested men, this proof. If this proof be unsuspected, and beyond refutation—and the obligations herein disclosed, contain the spirit and the principles of the masonic institution, the great and only difficulty which we have to encounter, is in convincing and persuading men to believe that these disclosures are true.

I propose, then, briefly to enquire into the testimony before this convention—to enquire whether that testimony, if taken according to the strictest rules of evidence, according to the principles of the common law, is sufficient to authorise this body, gravely to pass a verdict in favour of the report, and against the institution which it implicates.

I am aware that this discussion will be dry, though I promise it shall be short. It will be dry, because it will not be addressed to the fancy or feelings, but to the judgment, of the triers of this important question.

What then, sir, is the question which we are called on to decide? An institution which extends over the civilized world, embracing men of every rank, both in office and out of office—those of high intellectual endowments, and apparently of fair character—this institution is accused before the tribunal of the people of this country, of being bound together, by the constitution which is developed in Elder Bernard's revelations of free-masonry. Now I admit, that this charge is a high and an important one—one that deeply implicates the institution—and I am candid enough to say that it deeply implicates the integrity, honesty, and moral feeling of men high in life, high in the estimation of the people; and those whom I have been taught to respect—those whom I should be sorry to believe thus implicated; and unless impelled to the irresistible conclusion, that they are thus bound together, let us reject this report, nor cast upon these men the imputations which it contains.

Now, what are the rules of evidence, with regard to the decision, which ought to follow from the testimony? When high crimes and misdemeanors are charged upon an institution—and in the further discussion, I will consider the institution, and not individuals, as placed on trial—when high crimes are charged upon an institution or an individual, I admit, sir, that slight evidence, rumour, suspicion, suspected testimony or contradictory evidence, should not be sufficient to award a verdict of guilty. For unless the testimony is so clear, as to remove from the mind of all who try the case, every shadow of reasonable doubt, however strongly we may suspect, let us not solemnly condemn—let us pause upon these principles, let us examine the testimony now before the convention and the public, and from which last tribunal, upon this earth, there is no appeal.

In the first place there is direct testimony—and all testimony is of two kinds, circumstantial or positive—either of which, if clear, is sufficient to condemn—we have the direct testimony of witnesses who are themselves seceding masons, to the number of about a dozen, who are now in this convention, and who testify directly to the truth of these revelations; and the public have the testimony of from five hundred to some thousands, throughout the Union, who testify to the same fact.

Now, this testimony, if unimpeached, either from contradictory testimony, or the nature of their own evidence, would be sufficient, in all human judgment, to make out the case in favour of condemnation; for by the mouth of two or three witnesses (that is uncontradicted, I take it for granted) every thing is established.

I admit, and I propose to treat them with candour, I admit that there are objections made to this direct evidence, which at first blush strike the mind of the public, and of those who investigate, as being hard to get over. The objections are contained in the nature of the testimony itself, and this arises from the intrinsic facts which they disclose.

In the first place, the fraternity allege, that the witnesses are *participes criminis*—that the parties in this transaction are involved in the guilt of this institution, and that, therefore, they are to be viewed with suspicion—they say, that from the nature of their disclosures, they show that they are willing to commit perjury; because the fact of making the disclosures is a violation of what they admit to be a solemn oath. Here, therefore, and in order that I may not misrepresent the position thus taken, I beg leave to read from a paper, the argument, not of men who have argued this case in the bar-room, or of illiterate men who have not judicial rules, but the reasoning of a learned judge, who now sits upon the bench—who is presumed to be, and in fact is, a learned man, the honourable Charles Shaler, of the western district of Pennsylvania—in the following words: "It is, however, alledged that masons are false pretenders to virtues that they never exercise; and that the disclosures of certain members of the fraternity, evince a set of principles at war with the duties that every citizen owes to his country and government. It is hardly now necessary to inquire, what share of confidence is to be given to those who, in making disclosures, admit that they are ready to break through every obligation of honour, and every moral sanction, for the purpose of attaining their object. It is the fashion

of the times to confide in the faithless, and do abundant honour to him who breaks through those restraints that were once held sacred by the community. It is the peculiar felicity of our opponents, that they mark their companionship with infamy, and deduce their claims to confidence from the dregs of corruption and depths of prostitution." Here, sir, and I treat it respectfully—here is the argument on the part of the defence, for impeaching all the direct testimony which can be brought to bear against this institution.

Let us now analyse it for a moment, and see how far it is correct. The learned judge says, they admit, that in making the disclosures, they are ready to break through every obligation of honour, and every moral sanction. Here, in the first place, is a false assumption in point of argument and fact. These witnesses do not admit that they violate the rules of honour or morality in breaking their obligations. Let us look at their oaths, and see if they admit it. Those oaths, if true, disclose a scene of iniquity, which no one can vindicate. Admitting that his honour had taken such an oath as those disclosed, would he be bound in morality to keep it? If not, then they do not admit that they violate any moral obligations by their disclosures. Where did the judge learn his rules of honour and morals? Did he learn them in books of ethics;* from writers on moral philosophy; or from the Bible? As a jurist he knows that no man is bound by an extra-judicial oath—as a moralist, he ought to know, that no man is bound by an oath which conflicts with the laws of his county. A dishonourable oath has no binding force with honourable minds.

If his honour has learned his rules from any system of morality, it must be such as is sanctioned in a den of midnight robbers, where, to conceal their guilt, they deem it necessary to preserve secrecy through unhallowed obligations. If he has imbibed them in any school of honour, he must have learned them there; and there is no honour which is forfeited by such disclosures, unless it be that honour which is said to exist among thieves. Thus we see that seceding masons did not violate any rules of honour or morals, when they published the secrets of free-masonry to the world. And there is nothing in the nature of the disclosures themselves to impeach their motives as to what they admit by their disclosures. Then the judge assumed a mistake in his argument, when he said, they admit that they have violated these rules. There appears to be more force in the other clause of the objection.

These witnesses were at one time partakers in the crimes of the institution, and they have now come forward and borne testimony against it. Now I hold, that whenever (independent of the oaths,) the parties have been associated in iniquity, a disclosure of that iniquity by one or two men under circumstances which cause a suspicion of their motives, unless corroborating circumstances go to strengthen their testimony and put it beyond doubt, such evidence ought to be received with caution and weighed with some scruples of allowance.

I will give them the full benefit of this rule. I would consider the institution on trial before the tribunal of the public for life and death—all the sympathies of our nature exercised in its favour; and still, unless our judgment fail us, sufficient testimony exists to produce conviction. Then, admitting that there is some shadow of doubt upon all the testimony of seceders, however high their character might have been before, let us see how it is corroborated. If coming from the mouth of one or two witnesses only, it would be doubted; if coming from Morgan only, it would be laughed down, and that would be an end of it. Not one in a million would have believed it, if confined to that book; but if two or three witnesses only confirmed it, it would justly have some weight; but when you find a host of hundreds of witnesses, coming forward to corroborate each other, in different sections of the country, with regard to these institutions, so complicated and varied in their penalties, and all such witnesses agreeing with each other, who can fail to believe? But it is said, the character of these men is not good; for we have heard it asserted, and it is so asserted, before the bar of the people.

I have no doubt, that among seceding masons, where they have increased to a great number, as in all classes, there are some whose character is not the first in society. But when did the great mass, the great number of these witnesses acquire their bad character? When investigating a case of this kind, it is necessary to enquire how, and when, and by whom, this was brought about, and whether it has been got up within these few months past. These men, up to the date of their secession, it is not pretended, were bad characters. But we have a right to inquire, up to that time only. Then they were the honoured members of the institution of a virtuous fraternity, according to the accused's own statement. Up to the time when they first gave evidence, the masons cannot impeach their credit, because the whole fraternity endorsed their character, and the whole fraternity were responsible for their integrity, up to the date of such secession. No mason dare say, in a mason's face, that these men were not creditable up to that time. Then their character is sustained, by masons themselves, up to the time of their testifying; and it is unimportant what their characters may have become since, or by whom blackened.

What are the circumstances now, which corroborate these tainted witnesses! (to use masonic language.)

They set forth, that the members of the institution are bound together, by oaths, to secrecy, under the most horrid penalties, presenting death in all its most appalling forms; nothing short of death; there is no grade, all are alike, and all directed to the disclosures. How does this corroborate the direct evidence? In this way—in that secrecy—secrecy is the great boast, and distinguishing characteristic of the institution, whether good or bad. It is that which has fixed the public attention upon it heretofore, more than any other known quality or attribute

of the institution. One of their most learned lecturers, Mr. Brainard, who delivered a lecture in 1825, states, "that secrecy is a virtue, that it was taught in the lodges as a virtue, and taught effectually. Is it not so? is not masonic secrecy acknowledged as a mysterious thing? The most tattling man keeps this one thing—expel him, and he never tells this one thing—mad, drunk, or crazy, he never *tells*—does he talk in his sleep? it is not about masonry. Bribe him in his wants—tempt him in his pleasures, but he never *tells*."

Secrecy is one of the boasted characteristics and virtues taught in the institution. But how is it, that the nature of man is thus changed? Take men as they are formed, and communicate a secret,—and telling them not to disclose it, only creates an itching to tell it to the next neighbour, under a like injunction. If a secret be entrusted to a large number of men, even though the disclosure is punishable with death in its ordinary shape, let it be circulated among a great number of men, and there never was a case, but of the lodge, in which it was not disclosed. The common means of enforcing secrecy, is not sufficient: while in this case, the very disclosures show the most effectual teaching of secrecy, that human ingenuity and human power could invent; for it is not to be punished trivially, but with death. And this corroborates the very fact of the nature of their secrecy, and shows that the testimony which they have given, goes to tally with their conduct in this institution.

Are there any other circumstances which corroborate the truth of these disclosures? I pass over the many supposed masonic executions, and the alleged execution of Pritchard, and the author of Jachin and Boaz, for these facts might be disputed; and come to the fact, which we all know, and no one doubts—the case of William Morgan, who did disclose their secrets, and who was executed by men known to belong to this brotherhood, and of the degree to execute this penalty. I do not say, that if it had not been for these disclosures, the mere execution of William Morgan, by masons, would prove such execution to be required or authorized by masonry. Standing thus, it might have been nothing more than the execution of Morgan by individuals who happened to be masons, and be passed by as an ordinary murder. But when you take these disclosures, and show that they thus exact death, and in pursuance of these disclosures, such death was inflicted by just such persons as their laws would appoint executioners, what candid mind is there—what impartial man exists—what man who is not determined to shut his eyes to truth and light, whether right or wrong—what man is there, I appeal to you, in the country, who would say that this is not strong corroborating testimony of the truth of these disclosures?

But what further do these disclosures go to show? They go to show that it is a part of the duty of masons to aid each other in their business, and power, and in exalting them to high places.

I will not travel out of the record, but treat it fairly. What is masonry now? "It comprises men of rank, wealth, office, and talent, in power and out of power, and that in almost every place where power is of importance; and it comprises, among other classes of the community, to the *lowest*, in large numbers, effective men, united together, and capable of being directed by the efforts of others, so as to have the *force of concert through the civilized world*."—So says their orator Brainard.

And are there no circumstances, independent of these, to corroborate? Look around: though but one hundred thousand of the people of these United States are free-masons, yet almost all the offices of high profit and high honour are filled with gentlemen of that institution. Out of the number of law judges in the state of Pennsylvania, eighteen-twentieths are masons; and twenty-two out of twenty-four states of the Union, are now governed by masonic chief magistrates. Although not a twentieth part of the voters of this commonwealth, and of the United States, are masons, yet they have contrived, by concert, to put themselves into eighteen out of twenty of the offices of profit and power. I defy contradiction to this statement.

When this is so, is it because the uninitiated are not fit for office; or is it because those principles which have been disclosed are secretly acted upon? And if the latter, is it not a strange corroboration of the direct testimony of seceding masons?

Now, what is the consequence regularly deduced from this statement of facts and arguments? I say that every man who had arrived at the higher degrees of masonry, and who perfectly understood the principles, and approved of them, and adhered to them at the time of Morgan's execution—I say, all those of the higher degrees, were accomplices before the fact, in the masonic execution of William Morgan. I am satisfied that most masons know nothing about the principles of the institution; that they know nothing of the ultimate designs and vile principles held by the leaders of the order. Therefore that number would not be implicated. But I am sorry that it falls to the lot of man to believe—and, sir, I am sorry for the sake of those whom I respect, that it is a necessary consequence, from the proof embraced in this report—that all those who knew the principles and adhered to them, at that time, were implicated as accessaries before the fact.

I go further, and say, that all, since that time, who adhere to the institution, and knowing its principles, attempt to sustain it—we must say and believe, are accessaries, after the fact, in that bloody deed.

What are the further consequences? If these disclosures are true, then men that we have been accustomed to listen to, as the oracles of God; who have been accustomed from day to day, and from year to year, to assemble around the table of the Lord, cannot be considered, if they adhere to this institution, and uphold it, fit subjects for the communion, and for office; for

if these disclosures are true, if such things are done in the lodge, as the horrid scene of pretending to kneel at the sepulchre of our Saviour, raising him from the grave, and pointing him out as ascending to the heavens; speaking from the burning bush, and representing, in mortal shape, the character and voice of that God, whose voice made the mountains tremble; if these acts exist, as the evidence shews, in my estimation they are more presumptuous than any thing which a Christian could endure. Pagans would blush at them, and consign such men to shame for ever. Slight and trivial, compared with such heaven-braving acts, was the daring blasphemy, which fixed the eternal vulture on the living vitals of the Pagan malefactor.

Can it be that this people, and this community, will not examine, will not call out with one unanimous inquiry, whether these things are so? Let them hold out the hand of fellowship to all those who will repent, and return; and exclude with a sorrowful, but determined force, from all places of power, those who still belong to the institution; and put them out from all communion with the holy and the good.

The report was adopted.

Friday, 17th Sept. 1830.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Morse, of N. J.

Mr. Ward, of New-York, from the committee of seceding masons, asked leave to be discharged from the duty of making their report, on the ground that there was not time during the session to make it sufficiently satisfactory and perfect. After some discussion, the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. Armstrong, from the committee, then again submitted the report, amended so as to embrace the following passages from the "requisitions to make a good mason" in the "Philosophical Lodge of Knights Adepts of the Eagle or Sun:"—"Behold, my dear brother, what you must fight against, and destroy, before you can come to the knowledge of the true good and sovereign happiness! Behold this monster which you must conquer; a serpent which *we* detest as an idol, that is adored by the idiot and the vulgar under the name of Religion."

[The whole of the requisition from which the preceding passage is taken, is as follows. "You must shake off the yoke of infant prejudice concerning the mysteries of the reigning religion; which worship has been imaginary, and only founded on the spirit of pride; which envies to command and be distinguished, and to be at the head of the vulgar; in affecting an exterior purity; which characterizes a false piety; joined to a desire of acquiring that which is not its own, and is always the subject of this exterior pride, and unalterable source of many disorders; which, being joined to gluttonness, is the daughter of hypocrisy, and employs every matter to satisfy carnal desires, and raises to these predominant passions, altars upon which she maintains, without ceasing, the light of iniquity, and sacrifices continually offerings to luxury, voluptuousness, hatred, envy, and perjury. Behold, my dear brother, what you must fight against, and destroy, before you can come to the knowledge of the true good and sovereign happiness! Behold this monster, which you must conquer; a serpent which *we* detest as an idol; that is adored by the idiot and the vulgar, under the name of Religion."]

Mr. Bernard said, that agreeably to the resolution, the seceding masons could not certify to the truth of any obligation of masonry of which they did not possess a personal knowledge. Now, although he had received the most indubitable testimony of the accuracy of the passage or obligation reported by the chairman of the committee, none of the seceding masons composing that committee personally knew its truth. They could not, therefore, certify it.

On motion of Mr. Hopkins, of New-York, the report with this amendment, was now again recommitted, with instructions to the committee to make it perfect, when time should permit after the adjournment, and to report to the public. [See the resolution in the Journal.]

Mr. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, from the committee appointed to consider and report the effect and bearing of the obligations and ties of masonry on the commerce and revenue of the United States, moved, in consequence of the want of time, that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject. The motion was carried.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, from the committee to whom the report on the nomination of anti-masonic candidates for President and Vice President was recommitted, submitted the same report, in a more condensed form. The report concluded with the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in Convention on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both houses of congress, with power to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, to be supported at the next election: and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of anti-masonry may require.

Mr. Dexter, of Michigan, said he was opposed to the word "power." Many of our constituents were in favour of an immediate nomination. He wished the words, "for the purpose *of nominating*," to be inserted instead of the words "with *power to nominate*." He moved that amendment.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, said that this convention had no "power" to extend to other conventions: much less could it impose *obligations*. Instruction to delegates was, where it always should be, in the hands of the people.

Mr. Holley, of New-York, said that we ought to adopt no dictatorial style. The spirit was the same—it amounted to the same thing. It was not courteous, however, to seem to make it obligatory. We had no power to do so. Other things were to be considered for

the benefit of anti-masonry, and it was not discreet for this convention to say what another should do.

Mr. Maynard, of New-York, was in favour of giving the "power" but not of imposing the obligation. We might pass what resolves we pleased; we could not make them obligatory on another convention.

Mr. Dexter, of Michigan, said there was already in the party, a jealousy of predilections for old parties. Nothing would satisfy our constituents but being explicit. It was well known that many anti-masons had preferences in favour of the other candidates; and candidates purely anti-masonic were necessary to keep the party from scattering.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, moved, that the resolution be amended by striking out all that part giving instructions or directions at all. This motion was considered as for an amendment to an amendment.

He said that from the part he had taken in the cause, no one would doubt his devotion to the principles, or his ardent desire, for the final success of the party. He thought that a candidate should then be nominated, but he was opposed to any dictation to another convention, which the people, and not we, were to choose. In the people, and the people alone, rested the right of instruction. He was a republican, and believed that the representative was bound by the known will of his constituents. Why, then, not recommend a convention, and let the people give those whom they may send, the necessary instructions? Events might transpire which would alter the political aspect of affairs. No one could tell what would grow out of the coming elections, in New-York, Pennsylvania, and the Western States. Let this convention, however, determine as it might, he would acquiesce in its decision. But he knew that his constituents were in favour of no instructions to them from any convention. This right they reserved to themselves, and would never surrender it. Let this convention return to the people, without assuming a power of instruction, of right belonging to their constituents. The new convention he believed, without detracting at all from the merits of this, would be equally competent to carry into execution the people's will; it would come fresh from their ranks, and could act under instructions on this very subject. Let us, then, recommend that a convention assemble at Baltimore, to consult and deliberate upon the great interests of anti-masonry, and let the people instruct its members what to do.

Mr. Terry, of Connecticut, said he understood the resolution differently. He agreed with the gentleman from Pennsylvania in his principles, but thought that they did not apply to the case.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was opposed to the amendment. He thought it would put an extinguisher upon the party. It had been said that we have sinister objects in view. This amendment would strengthen the suspicions. He thought there was more meant than met the eye.

Mr. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, said it was not his intention to have entered into a discussion, but he was under obligation to do so. He was fully sensible of his own feeble energies, and that it would be much more becoming for the youngest member of the convention to seek instruction and imbibe wisdom, by listening to the venerable gentlemen who surrounded him, than to offer views of his own. I am fully sensible, too, he continued, that the time of this convention is precious, but I am forced into this discussion by the obligations which I am under, to express the sentiments of anti-masonry in that section of the country where I reside.

I hold in my hand a paper, embracing resolutions passed at a meeting in Pittsburg, May 15th, 1830. This meeting was represented as being the largest anti-masonic meeting ever held in that section of the country. As a delegate to this convention from that section of the country, I feel it my duty to read these resolutions. The resolutions passed at that meeting enjoined on the delegates, the duty of carrying these resolutions into effect under these circumstances. [The President here informed the gentleman that it would be out of order to read the resolutions of any meeting, except that by which the gentleman was appointed; but he was at liberty to proceed with his remarks.]

I beg leave to make a statement respecting public sentiment in that part of the country. From the time anti-masonry first appeared in Western Pennsylvania, I have associated and corresponded with the friends of the cause; and without pretending to infallible accuracy, I believe I have ascertained the wishes and sentiments of that part of the country which I represent. That populous country, composing the congressional district, at present represented by my worthy colleague, in the early part of this business declared publicly, that they would show by their words and their actions, that their purposes were political, and that they were determined to exercise the elective franchise. When, sir, it was urged by our opponents, and the charge was brought forward, that we were trying to make our objections to the order bear on politics, we met them at the threshhold, and allowed that we wished to accomplish a political purpose. But that we claimed for its support the co-operation of all good men, and the lovers of their country. The arts of disputatious politicians were lost; they endeavoured to raise a cry about persecution, and excite public sympathy, but it was in vain; nothing could draw the honest yeomanry from the stand which they had taken. They were for applying a corrective to the evil at once. A question so important as this is not to be passed over lightly, or decided on hastily. We have discussed subjects of less moment, and on which we have made up our minds. [Here the speaker was called to order by a gentleman from Massachusetts, who moved the previous question. He was, however, informed by the President, that the gentleman who had the floor was perfectly in order and at liberty to proceed.] The speaker resumed.

Now I believe it to be a duty which was expressly enjoined on me by my constituents; and although I am the youngest member of this convention, and although the gentleman opposite may not wish to hear me talk, I shall take the liberty. I was going on to say, when I was interrupted, that nothing could draw the people from the stand which they had taken. No, sir, they could not be provoked, and would not be coaxed to persecute. To the fraternity they said, if you choose to be rulers in a secret government, you shall not rule over us. Our republican institutions shall be open to the world. But your legislation, and the execution of your laws, is hidden in midnight darkness. We hold the conclaves of the lodge, and secret bodies of men, as bad schools to learn political integrity; but as it is the only corrective they intended to use, they wished to apply it to the fullest extent. They are therefore anxious that the United States may take a decided stand in favor of political anti-masonry. The hue and cry has been raised, it will be raised again, that we are in favour of proscription. But the cry scarce had any effect, except on the timid and uninformed—it is said now to affect them. The people will understand that they have as good a right to withhold their suffrages from one class of men as from another. They would not sanction the proscription of monarchists or aristocrats; but if they ask for office, the people will not trust them with political power; and in so doing they would act wisely; and so it is with regard to selfish and all-grasping free-masonry. Now, Mr. President, although it is my opinion that it is the wish of the anti-masonic party generally throughout the United States, and I believe it to be the wish particularly of anti-masons in Western Pennsylvania, that this convention should nominate candidates, and I lately indulged the same wish; yet for the sake of unanimity, I shall cheerfully submit to the views of this convention. Let me observe, I think it a duty to ourselves, to our party and our country, to declare publicly and openly, that we consider it a disqualification for any office in the gift of a free people, to be subject to a government not recognized by our laws and constitution. One word more, and I have done.

I must say that I was much astonished to hear a gentleman confess, that he was for the first time to be informed that we met here for any political purpose whatever. I humbly conceive that we meet here for no other than a political purpose. Sir, we are a political party—we are not personally opposed to free-masons as individuals, because that might be, and fairly would be, considered proscription; but we are opposed to the masonic institution, considering it dangerous in its political tendency—subversive of our private rights as citizens, and destructive to morality and religion. In this our opposition is, as it should be, political. To express our sentiments at a proper time—to correct the growing evil, and warn young men against the snare—to crush the monster of iniquity, still wreaking with human blood, we must go to the ballot-box, and there withhold our suffrages from those who hold allegiance to a tyrant more despotic than the one our glorious ancestors opposed in 1776, and by opposing which they secured the sacred independence which we are here assembled to fortify against the secret foes of freedom. Mr. President, I am done. I am sorry if I have trespassed upon the time of this convention, but I trust its members will be satisfied with the motives which impelled me.

The previous question being called for and sustained by the convention, the question upon Mr. Todd's amendment was put and lost. The question then recurring upon Mr. Dexter's amendment, (to strike out the words "with power") was put and carried. The resolution was then adopted in the following words:

Resolved, That it is recommended to the people of the United States, opposed to secret societies, to meet in convention, on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of September, 1831, at the city of Baltimore, by delegates equal in number to their representatives in both houses of congress, to make nominations of suitable candidates for the offices of President and Vice President, to be supported at the next election; and for the transaction of such other business as the cause of anti-masonry may require.

Adjourned to 4, P. M. At 4, the convention reassembled.

Mr. Whittlesey moved a resolution, authorizing the national committee of correspondence to open a correspondence with candid members of the fraternity on the subject of secret societies, and to publish their answers with their consent.

A motion to strike out the word "candid," was lost.

Mr. Stevens objected to the resolution. It would lead to controversy, and that was not the object of the convention. They were collectively invited to quit the institution by the Address which we have made.

Mr. Whittlesey said, it seemed to be forgotten that the members of the masonic fraternity were members of civil society. Many of them had the same, or nearly the same, views on the subject, with anti-masons, and he entertained a strong hope that the correspondence contemplated would elicit much good, and would induce many masons to surrender their allegiance to the fraternity. He was in favour of saving them.

Mr. Stevens thought there was more in the resolution than met the eye. The members of the convention had gone far enough in putting their names to a most able address to the people of the United States, in which the fraternity were generally and affectionately invited to come out from among them. Anti-masonry stood on broad ground; and he was opposed to engaging in any particular correspondence with any individual in the fraternity. He thought it would degrade the cause. He seemed to think it impolitic to give office-seeking masons a chance of thus promoting their selfish views.

Mr. Boileau expressed the same views.

On the resolution for opening a correspondence with candid masons,

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, said that whatever doubts he might have entertained with regard to the expediency of bringing forward such a resolution, at this time, there could, it seemed to him, be none with regard to its adoption. For one, said Mr. S. I am unwilling to bear the imputation which will follow its rejection,—the imputation of shrinking from the discussion, which the contemplated correspondence may involve. Anti-masonry, sir, has nothing to fear from investigation. It is the very element of its existence, as are secrecy and mystery that of the masonic institution.

We have, Mr. President, been charged with aiming, not to abolish the institution of free-masonry, but rather to put its members under the ban of proscription, that we may engross the offices and honours of the country. So far is this, sir, from being true, that the whole tendency of our efforts is to strip the institution of its borrowed robes, exhibit it in its true character, and *dissolve the charm by which it maintains its empire over the minds of its members.* It is not enough to array the community against it—not enough to make it the object of popular indignation, or to achieve a triumph over it at the ballot-boxes. Anti-masonry can never cease its efforts while there remains a single human being ensnared in its toils. Sir, I am not satisfied to wait for the *finale* of masonry, till time shall have swept from the stage of life all the men who now belong to the institution. I would have them affectionately invited, and earnestly urged, to abjure their allegiance to it, and abandon it for ever. *Come, let us reason together,* is an appeal which, I am sure, they cannot all resist. Indeed, sir, there are, I am confident, many, very many, who do really desire to come out, and want but the opportunity which such an invitation as that which is contemplated by the resolution upon your table, would furnish. Make such invitation a part of your system of operations, and I cannot permit myself to doubt that masons will soon be seen flocking in great numbers to your standard.

There are, it should also be observed, some sections of our country which are yet in almost total darkness, on the subject of masonry. There is not in New-Hampshire, or in Maine, or in one of the States south of the Potomac, a single press devoted to our cause, or that will freely publish the truth, and the whole truth, concerning it! Now, sir, I wish masons in those States, particularly, to be corresponded with, on the subject of their institution. There are, I doubt not, many among them, who will freely respond to respectful inquiries concerning it, and as freely express in regard to it, their decided disapprobation and their determination to renounce it. We want to save them from masonry; and we want their influence to save others from it, and accelerate its downfall. Those portions of the country now in darkness, might thus be roused to investigation, and to the establishment of presses which should aid them in its prosecution.

Every view which I can take of this subject presents to my mind strong arguments in favour of the resolution; and I cannot refrain from an expression of my earnest hope that it may be adopted.

Mr. Irwin agreed with his colleague from Pennsylvania, that there was more in this resolution than met the eye. This was not the way in which anti-masons in Pennsylvania had met the fraternity.

Mr. Seward said, he thought the two gentlemen from Pennsylvania had suffered themselves to be excited into an unnecessary apprehensiveness on this subject. No one who knew the zeal and labours of the mover of this resolution, could suspect that, in offering it, he was governed by sinister designs. In New York, and in the eastern states, such an interchange of sentiments with candid masons was a favourite mode of promoting the cause of anti-masonry.

Mr. Hanna, of Ohio, objected to the resolution.

Mr. Phelps could not for a moment doubt the motives of any member of this convention in moving any proposition. He had full confidence in the national committee of correspondence; and he moved the reference of the resolution to that committee.

Mr. Whittlesey withdrew the resolution. He said that if any one member objected, it was motive enough for him to withdraw it.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, moved a resolution on the subject of raising funds in the several states, for the gratuitous dissemination of intelligence &c.—He said that the resolution he had just offered was suggested to him by the report made yesterday on the state of the press. That report exhibits a state of facts which may well excite our earnest attention.

The institution of masonry is extended over the whole of the United States,—embraces probably about 100,000 of its population, and is sustained by the influence of wealth, of talents, and of station. Its principles have excited to the commission of crimes of the most atrocious character; while it has successfully interposed its power to shield the perpetrators of them from the claims of criminal justice. An investigation of the principles of the institution—such an investigation as will enable the people of the United States to pass their definitive sentence upon it, is demanded by every consideration connected with the safety of our citizens, and the permanency of our free institutions. This investigation can be carried on only through the medium of the press; and to that have the people a right to look for the truth, and the whole truth, upon a subject which so deeply concerns them.

Now, sir, what is the state of the press in the United States? Of nearly 1000 newspapers, there are but about 125 whose columns are open to the truth on the subject of masonry! It is not my purpose, Mr. President, to comment at length upon this state of things. I will only allow myself to say that it exhibits an extent of masonic influence over the press, which proclaims the gigantic power of the institution in language which none can misunderstand.

Shall this state of things continue? Shall the people remain longer in darkness on the subject of masonry? Sir, we have assembled to answer these questions with a decided negative. We have come together to investigate the principles of the masonic institution, and look into the facts connected with the application of those principles. But how are we to gain access to the people of the United States? How are we to spread before them the result of our inquiries? How are we to act on public opinion, and give it a right direction in regard to this subject? The resolution which I have just offered suggests the only answer that can be given to these inquiries. It looks to measures for the gratuitous dissemination of intelligence on the subject of speculative free-masonry—measures which, if faithfully executed, will carry the truth to every door, and pour its light into every cottage, in the United States. Let anti-masons act, immediately and efficiently, upon the recommendation of this resolution—distributing throughout every state the proceedings of this convention, and other means of information, and an impulse will be given to our cause which nothing can resist.

Hitherto, sir, it is well known, that a few individuals in those sections of the country where efforts have been made, have sustained a very disproportionate share of the expences which those efforts have involved. Some of them, indeed, (and among them I number one, at least, of my respected colleagues,) have materially impaired their estates by their generous devotion to the cause. They should be relieved, sir, by the adoption of measures to raise the necessary funds by more general contributions.

The gratuitous dissemination of intelligence which the resolution contemplates, is, in my opinion, worthy of special regard, as connected with the establishment of anti-masonic presses. Let the people in any particular section of the country, hitherto in darkness on the subject of masonry, become thoroughly awakened to its importance, and they will take measures to establish presses which will become permanent fountains of light. It is by this process, that such a revolution is to be effected in the newspaper press of the United States, as is demanded by the just claims of anti-masonry. Let private liberality, in the true spirit of anti-masonic benevolence, go forward, and free presses will assuredly follow in their train. Such, I am confident, will be the result in Vermont; and such, I doubt not, will be the result, every where.

All the measures, Mr. President, which we propose for the advancement of our cause, should not only be worthy of its noble and generous purpose, but adapted to meet, and overcome the obstacles which it is destined to encounter. We must remember that we are contending with a wealthy and a powerful fraternity, who are capable, in various ways, of exerting fearful control over the press of the country. We know how much their cause depends for its success upon the suppression of free inquiry; and how ready those of them who are labouring to sustain the institution, are, to stifle every effort to arraign it at the bar of public opinion.

To meet, successfully, such an array of strength, in a manner becoming the cause in which we are engaged, will require sacrifices of no ordinary magnitude. They must be made—*They will be made.* The spirit of anti-masonry, is a spirit which will never shrink from making them. It will not shrink, sir, because it is the spirit of freemen, sustained by truth, and indignant at the efforts which are made to suppress it. And what freeman can fail to feel indignant when he sees the leading members of a powerful fraternity, labouring in concert, throughout the whole country, to muzzle the press, and conceal from the public view, and shield from just animadversion, the principles and practices of their institution? Where is the freeman who is prepared to submit, quietly, to such a state of things as this? Look at it, sir! *Masonry must not be investigated!* This is the doctrine—no matter how groundless may be its pretensions—how gross its imposture—how treasonable its principles—or how black its crimes—all—all is sacred—inviolable! A national intellect invigorated by the spirit of freedom, grasps at every thing—investigates every thing. No association of men, no measures of government—no act of any public man, can escape. Every thing meets its penetrating glance, and feels its resistless power. But masonry—the "*ancient* and honourable"—must be protected—defended—guarded, against its sacrilegious intrusions into her sanctuary.

Sir, this state of things is not to be endured. The truth must, and will have free course. The people are beginning, in earnest, to inquire wherefore masonry should not be brought out and examined in the broad day-light of truth. It is to meet and gratify this spirit of inquiry, that I have brought forward this resolution. It aims to concentrate, so as to give effect to, private liberality, for the purpose of presenting the *truth* to the people of the United States, that they may be enabled to pass their sentence of approval or condemnation upon the masonic institution.

A resolution was adopted for the publication of the whole proceedings of the convention, including, of course, the several official reports of committees on resolutions referred to them. Mr. Hopkins stated, that they would probably be stereotyped.

A resolution of thanks to the president of the convention, having been moved and adopted, as mentioned in the Journal,

Mr. Granger made his acknowledgments in a few very impressive and eloquent remarks, in the course of which he said that the duties of the chair had been rendered light by the magnanimous conduct of the convention, and by the correct deportment of the citizens of this confessedly polished city, who had attended its deliberations.

The thanks of the convention were also voted to the Vice President and Secretaries.

The convention, after prayer from the Rev. Mr. Bernard, adjourned, *sine die.*

APPENDIX.

The following Remarks were received in a revised form, too late for insertion in their proper place.

In the debate on Mr. Whittlesey's report,

Mr. Cooke, of New-York. All, I presume, who have heard the statement of facts, in the report under consideration, will admit that it forms the most important object to which this convention can direct its attention. It is a history of the basis, ground-work, and superstructure of anti-masonry. And before I proceed, I must say, that I feel a debt of gratitude, I feel the necessity of acknowledging to the gentlemen who have furnished these facts, our obligations for the light they have shed upon this subject. I allude to those gentlemen who formerly belonged to the masonic institution. True it is, sir, that the outrage, violence, and crimes of the institution were such as to arouse the fears of the uninitiated, but without the disclosures of those who have seceded from the institution, we should have yet remained in a state of comparative darkness. It has been by the united efforts of those who have felt it their duty to secede, together with others of our committees, that the present information is now before the public. I feel bound to make the acknowledgment—it is due to these gentlemen.

It is due to this convention to explain in some detail the thousand reasons why further facts have not been elicited, as stated in the report.

The report commences with the origin of the transactions in relation to William Morgan. At Batavia, in the western part of the state of New-York, the first act, relating to this subject, was committed, which put at defiance the laws of the state. With the seizure of Mr. Morgan commenced the history of this tragedy, but with the termination of the life of that man, the facts to be produced will not be terminated. The report alludes to violent expressions, but it has not been told what they were. I will mention a few. It was mentioned by high masons in the neighbourhood of the outrage, men of the first respectability, that the book alluded to in the report should be suppressed, and should never meet the public eye, if it cost their lives; that the lives of half a dozen such men as Miller and Morgan, when put in comparison with the appearance of that book, were of but little moment. This was before that man was abducted.

When the motley group assembled, at the dark hour of midnight, to perpetrate an outrage on that which is justly styled the palladium of the liberty of our country, when perhaps one hundred masons from fifty miles east, and forty miles west, were assembled, at the midnight hour, in the peaceful village of Batavia; so strong fears had they of the laws upon their mind, so convinced were they of their own criminality, and that the abodes which they were about to assault would be defended, that in a fright they abandoned their project, and sought a hiding-place from the light of day.

This was not all, sir; after this each resorted to his home—time was given for concert—a party came from a distance, and seized and removed the man, as stated in the report. While on the way from Batavia to Canandaigua, the prime mover, who sat upon the box of the carriage, made this ever-memorable declaration: when the driver had doubts whether he would not be in danger, he engaged to indemnify him, and said—and I wish every one to observe it—"They never shall retake Morgan alive."

Here was a declaration of their purpose in the outset—it was repeated from time to time. I now pass to Canandaigua.

When Morgan was in jail he remarked to a fellow-prisoner, while Lawson was engaged in effecting his release, "If this man should betray me, I would not give much for my life." When he got to the door of the prison, a single whistle brought to their assistance the ruffian bands that carried him away. When they got him to the door he cried murder, but they carried him to the back part of the village; and one single knock upon the curb of a well brought a carriage in waiting. When they were proceeding from the jail-step to the carriage, one said to him, "You know you have forfeited your life."

It is unnecessary to be very minute about his transportation to Niagara county; there are, however, some occurrences after he reached that county which it will be proper for me to state.

The report states that a reverend gentleman arrived by the stage at Murdock's. He had a conversation, the import of which was unknown; he inquired of the keeper of the house if he was a royal arch mason, but being answered in the negative, he inquired if there was one in the neighbourhood; and on being informed that there was one within about a mile, he demanded a pen and paper, and wrote to Jeremiah Brown. They then passed on in the stage, and soon after Brown came back to the tavern with two horses. The carriage with Morgan in it had not yet arrived. Brown procured feed for his horses, and in a few moments the car-

riage came along. After a moment's consultation they took the horses from their feed and went on. It was for a long time supposed that these horses were attached to the carriage. Brown eventually got on the box, and they arrived at Wright's somewhere about sundown, and Burrage Smith passed on to Lockport. Here a witness, whose testimony is important, had been spirited away by masonic agency no less than three times. The carriage was first driven under the shed, but being considered insecure there, it was taken out and removed to an enclosed barn. Farewell, the witness alluded to, was called, and he and another stayed in the barn while the others went to supper. During the time they were with him, Morgan was silent. A lantern was brought; he was taken out of and returned to the carriage again; at this time, he was blinded with a number of handkerchiefs, reaching down to his breast, in such a manner as to exclude the light. They remained here till about 8 o'clock, and next arrived at Molyneux,—Mather stopped, and Brown, with Platt's carriage, went on—they next arrived at Lewistown, where they left the carriage in a back street. At Wright's, Bruce, sheriff of Niagara county, took charge, and Hague was in company. This carriage was obtained by Platt at Rochester,—it was furnished to go west, and how he (Platt) happened to know that it was to be charged to the "grand chapter pro tem.," I know not, but so he charged it, and had not received payment when he testified.

Barton was called on at Lewiston, by Bruce, for a carriage. It is a matter worthy of observation, that this man was seen in company with this same reverend clergyman the same evening—I saw him. When they arrived at Youngstown they stopped, and called up William King; and when within about forty rods of the fort they left the carriage and proceeded on foot. Arrived at the ferry-house, this memorable declaration was made,—"We have got the rascal who has been disclosing the secrets of free-masonry." While stopping at the door at King's, the man made some noise, and it was understood to be a call for some water. At the fort, Bruce said to Giddins, "Let us have some water for the poor wretch." These were the epithets they applied to their victim. They crossed the river, and Bruce and King proceeded to Niagara, where they found two or three brethren, and came back again. At the beach Morgan appeared to be in distress, and in one instance went so far as to remark, "I am your prisoner, show your magnanimity by treating me kindly." They told him to be silent, upon pain of death. After a while he again attempted to speak, but one of them took a pistol and pressed it against his breast, and said, "Be silent, or you are a dead man."

When they found that no arrangement had been made for receiving him on the Canada side, they recrossed to fort Niagara, and took him to the magazine, and there deposited him under lock and key.

It may be a matter of curiosity to describe what kind of a building this magazine is. The fort was at the time abandoned, except by two persons, the one a keeper, and the other a ferryman. The building is of stone, some forty or fifty feet in length, and thirty to forty wide, and the walls *bomb-proof*, from six to ten feet thick. There was no aperture except the door and two windows, which were strongly fastened on the outside. It was here that this man was incarcerated. He was deposited about three or four o'clock in the morning of the 14th of September, 1826, the day appointed for the installation of the royal arch chapter at Lewiston. King and Bruce went to Lewiston, and Giddins remained at the fort.

About nine o'clock in the morning, Giddins and Jackson went to the magazine to see the situation of the prisoner, and to relieve his wants. On going to the prison the presentiment of danger on the part of Morgan was so strong, that he refused them entrance. Jackson ran away. Morgan was at this time making a noise, and they endeavoured to still him, pretended to have fire-arms, and threatened to shoot him; this caused him to cry murder several times.

The next step was, that Jackson should be sent to Lewiston, with word that the prisoner was making a noise, and they were fearful of discovery. He went and informed Hague, who formerly had the care of him. Hague went to the magazine. Morgan said, "I will not be bled to death by that doctor." Hague had not sufficient courage to enter the cell, and went back to Lewiston again, and two others proceeded to the fort to still the noise. Lawson, his *friend*, made himself known to Giddins: proceeding to the magazine, one said, "He will make no more noise after he hears me." He went into the prison, and, as it was dark, said, "Where are you, Morgan?" and seized his hand, and gave him some kind of grip which stilled him, saying, "If you are not silent, death is your portion immediately." This man remained till the evening, at which time a large number was assembled of those who had met to install the *benevolent chapter* at Lewiston.

Many called on their friend, Mr. Giddins: he was a faithful man, who had had the care of Morgan, and they promoted his interest by drinking at his house freely. The company continued till about eleven o'clock, when it was found that but seven remained of the whole. These seven consulted upon the propriety of inflicting the penalty; each and all fell in with the sentiment, that he had forfeited his life: there was no contrariety of opinion—and their duty as masons was to inflict the penalty. They opened the prison, and found Morgan. He had freed himself from his cords and bandages.

The high priest, for he was at this time high priest, having that day been installed—having on his breast-plate, and "Holiness to the Lord," inscribed in front—this was the man who addressed Morgan, in the magazine, when he knew that none but the initiated could hear—"How dare you break your obligation—prepare to meet your God—for you have but a few minutes to live!"

This was the language of the high priest of the *benevolent chapter* of Lewiston. This clan of seven retired to the common, where no eavesdropper could approach them without being discovered; and they all agreed that the man must be executed, that he had forfeited his life, and was entitled to no sympathy whatever; and it was their duty to put the penalty into execution. They moreover devised a plan how to do it without detection. It was to take him to the Niagara river, and there sink him, where he would be seen no more. They moved towards the fort a little distance, when a young man, perhaps thinking of the advice of an old friend, fell in the rear. On being rallied, he says, "Gentlemen, I am bound to go with you, if you insist on it, but I beg to be excused." Others joined him, and it was agreed to abandon the project for that night.

Word was sent to Morgan that he was not then to be put to death; that they must send to Jerusalem to ask what was to be done with him. Thus ends the scene of September fourteenth, 1826.

These men, after having met and prepared their scheme, retired to their places of abode. On the 15th a new assemblage met at the fort, and among them the high priest and Elisha Adams. At that meeting the subject came up again, and there was some reluctance with part of them; there was a little doubt with some as to the propriety of executing him at that time. There was one man, (and I am sorry to say it, for he lives not more than a mile and a half from me, and a man whom I had ever held high as a moralist,) who, when a doubt was expressed about the propriety of the act, to silence that doubt, brought forth a passage from the Holy Bible to show that it was right that he should be executed. He not only stated it, but insisted on it. A controversy, however, arose, and became somewhat warm; the keeper was against putting the man to death; even Elisha Adams was silent, which was equivalent to an objection. The contest arose to such a height, that a personal combat had well nigh taken place.

At this time the high priest said, "How dare you advocate such doctrines in our presence?" Having charge of the whole affair, this high priest directed the keys to be given up to Adams, who would be more submissive to his orders. Giddins said, "Well, I am now free from this matter." So much doubt had been expressed that the execution was deferred.

Adams remained there. Still Giddins was not so far released, but that he remained aiding and assisting in keeping the man, but opposed to executing the sentence. He provided the necessary food, &c. and Adams attended to the administration. On the evening of the 17th of September, Giddins having business across the lake, 30 or 40 miles, embarked on board a steam boat, glad to clear himself from further interference in the matter. He remained till the 21st of September, during which time an impenetrable veil covers all, through which nothing has been yet discovered, nor will be discovered, unless there should be some valuable accessions of seceding masons.

Giddins coming back, asked the captain of the steam boat if the prisoner was still there? The reply was, "No; he has gone where he will write no more books." When he arrived at Niagara, he fell in with Adams, the man who had remained at his house. Adams was much distressed, and said that "they had murdered the man," and gave the particulars, which are not necessary to be mentioned. We have reason to infer, that he was murdered on the 19th of September, 1826.

The people in that neighbourhood were entirely ignorant of all these things. I mean the uninitiated. Most of the masons who attended the installation were acquainted with the fact that Morgan was at the fort; yet, under such absolute subjection was the press, that though living but seven miles from the fort, intimation of the event only came to us at Lewiston on some of the first days of the month of December following.

When the fact was reported to us, that this man had been carried through our village to Niagara, we felt inclined to discredit it. The seeming impossibility, that in a country settled like that, a man could be taken from Canandaigua in the way that he was, and deposited as described, without our hearing of it, rendered the thing incredible. The previous reports had been, that Morgan had been carried to Hanford's landing, the place where Hubbard put him down. We supposed, at first, that he was carried across the lake from the mouth of Genessee river.

When the facts came to our knowledge, as citizens, we felt a deep interest in supporting the laws and discountenancing the outrage; not that we knew any thing of Morgan or his family; but to vindicate the laws, we stepped forward and began to inquire of our neighbours, "Did you know any thing of the fact of Morgan being taken through this place to fort Niagara?" On making this inquiry, there was but a single countenance among the masons of that vicinity, and that was expressive of contempt. Those who embarked in it were cautioned, "As you value your business, and all that is dear to you in your high standing, take care not to meddle with that Morgan affair." More than once have our committees been approached in that way. Many falsehoods were got up—that Morgan had been seen floating upon the lake on a field of ice; that he was somewhere peddling his books; that he was in Canada tending bar, &c. By these reports it was intended to stifle public investigation. The result was, that every man that had not submitted himself to the disgraceful cable-tow, laid his hand on his heart and said, Can it thus be, that the first men in the community have been engaged in such wickedness? You must not, cannot, inquire whether a man has been carried through the land and concealed. Yes, such was the fact; and the result was, the call of a meeting to appoint a committee whose duty it should be to act till the end of the tragedy could be ascer-

tained. I happened to be present, and had the honour to be placed upon this committee. We entered upon the duty, and the people looked to us for information; and with the combined efforts of the committees east, as the report sets forth, we performed our engagement.

On the assembling of the committee, certain facts were communicated from the Canada side of the river. It was known on the Canada side, that Morgan had been brought to fort Niagara; and some believed that the first penalty had been inflicted, of having his throat cut; it was, at least, pretty well understood that he was carried to the Canada shore, and lodged in some part of the Town of Niagara. This led us into Canada, thinking it probable that he had been put to death in that place. Some of the committee took it upon them to go before the grand jury in Canada. It was found that the foreman was a mason. The jury agreed to consider the subject. The names of witnesses were furnished—the court soon after adjourned for the night. Those masons whose names had been furnished as witnesses, were called upon. The next morning the member of the committee who made the complaint was informed, that the grand jury, in their wisdom, had gone into the court room, informally, and had advised with his honour the judge, who was a mason. He advised them to have nothing to do with the subject, except to meet and dismiss it. And they did as they were instructed.

I speak of this as illustrative of the fact, that masonry is the same every where. We had then a relation of a gentleman, who has since been a member of parliament.

Some time in the latter part of January, there were several members from the committees, seventeen in number, who assembled, and proceeded first to Niagara, in Canada, and then returned and went into the fort. This was the first time that the magazine was thoroughly searched after Morgan was confined in it. On entering the magazine, it was found that some human being must have been confined in it. There were various evidences of the fact. On returning from that place, we met again at Lewiston, and gave an invitation to many in the surrounding country, informing them that the committee had assembled there merely to ascertain the facts in relation to Morgan's being carried through that place to Niagara. No sooner was this notice given, than a vast concourse of masons was assembled, not to give information or facts, which would enable the committee to proceed, but to insult, brow-beat, and drive from the spot the gentlemen who had convened.

I am sorry to state the fact, but it was among the first inhabitants of the village in which I reside, that we found the most inveterate and insolent opposers. Not only did they molest and hinder individuals who were inquiring after simple facts, but one man came into the room and extinguished the light. It was thought that something violent would ensue, but it turned out otherwise: we separated without being attacked.

No information was obtained; no mason came forward, though more than twenty of them were well acquainted with all the ramifications and final termination of this tragedy. More than twenty were in the committee room; yet not one fact did they communicate. The next thing was for the heralds of the press to proclaim that a self-styled convention had assembled from different counties, to disturb the innocent repose of the good citizens of the county of Niagara. This they did with the most abusive language; and a mason who had sworn to prosecute offenders against the laws, came forward and publicly insulted this body of men.

It may be asked, and probably will be, why did you not have a magistrate and put the laws in force? We did attempt it, but the all-powerful hand of free-masonry interposed at every step. An offender was arrested; we had none but masonic witnesses. It must have been a firm magistrate who would not have been abashed at the formidable array and threatening aspect of the fraternity: and under these circumstances it was difficult to press forward the same searching inquiries as in common cases.

On looking round, we found that the magistrates were all masons. When we looked to a grand jury, Eli Bruce was the sheriff, and the man to select that jury. You might pursue any course, and the result was the same—the judges were masons. This was the situation of the county of Niagara. We intended to have done something at the January term, 1827; for it had not entered our conceptions, but what if men were in possession of facts, they would come forward and disclose them; but in this we were in error.

In April term of our oyer and terminer, a complaint was preferred against Eli Bruce, for the abduction of William Morgan. It was found, however, before the grand jury assembled, that there were but two men with whom we could intrust the papers respecting the affair. To these men the committee resorted; they framed certain written questions which were handed over to them; and they agreed that when masonic witnesses came before the grand jury, these questions should be put and answered. I regret to say, that one of these two proved recreant, so that there was but one single man on the grand jury, out of nineteen or twenty, who dared to come forward and face the frowns of the majority, and ask a question upon the subject. These witnesses, before they went before the jury, met and held a consultation as to what answers should be given to any questions that should be put; and the resolution—I know not by what other name to call it—but the horrible resolution was, We will say we know nothing about William Morgan or his abduction. Such was the resolution, and such the answer.

When these men retired from the grand jury chamber, (and the examination took but a short time,) one remarked, I told them I knew nothing about it, and there it ended. The deliberations of the grand jury were one of the most extraordinary phenomena of the day. Some of the most extraordinary measures ever heard of before any grand jury in this country, were there taken.

When the complaint was pending against the accused, the foreman of the grand jury retired from the room; he who was sworn to execute the laws impartially. He was seen retiring to a private chamber, in consultation with the accused. I witnessed that, which shook my confidence in the protection of the laws more than any thing else I had ever beheld. A witness was introduced, who testified that Eli Bruce made a confession materially implicating himself. When he had answered that question, he was told to retire. A messenger was then sent, and introduced three or four witnesses to impeach the character of the last. This game was played off again and again, till they succeeded, by this false and foul practice, in discrediting the testimony of the witness.

In this gloomy affair, I felt that it was more likely I should be presented, than that the accused would. The report states that, after winding up the proceedings of this grand jury, with a view to rebut the statement sent to governor Clinton, they came out with another statement, and forwarded it to him, declaring that there was no shadow of evidence that Morgan was taken through that county. Here we saw the laws successfully put at defiance; and here the exertions to indict in the county of Niagara were abandoned. To Ontario county be the praise given, of indicting the first conspirator, and punishing almost all the others. True, at Batavia, two or three were convicted of the abduction of Miller; but has there been a conviction in Batavia, Monroe, Orleans, or Niagara, for the abduction of Morgan? Not one.

We abandoned the idea of doing any thing to enforce the laws in the county of Niagara. We had petitioned the legislature for aid; they were *pretending* that *something* should be done, but *intending* that *nothing* should be done. A special officer was appointed to visit the counties and assist the prosecutors. This officer entered on the discharge of his duty, and procured a number of indictments.

It may be asked, how could *he* procure indictments, when they could not be procured previously. The law respecting the selection of grand jurors had been altered, so that he could have some men on grand juries besides masons. This officer prosecuted his duty, till it pleased the authorities of the state of New-York to remove him from the appointment, and introduce some man who was not so extensively acquainted with the facts. That officer entered upon his duty with great activity and indefatigable industry, came well nigh to the conviction of some of the members of the fraternity; when, on making a report to the executive thereon, which charged the masonic institution as directly implicated, he was publicly insulted in the hall of the legislature. His report was treated with contumely, and that report never appeared in the official gazette of the state. Some portions of it were published, not calculated to bear against masonry.

When this officer was publicly insulted, and his official communication to the executive of the state, whose duty it was to enforce the execution of the laws, were disclosed to the counsel for the defendants, could a man of the high standing of that counsellor, just selected to fill a station of such magnitude, nay, would it have been right for him to submit to that indignity? No, sir. He comes out to the world and states, you have treated your faithful agent with indignity, and have disclosed confidential information to the accused. We ask, then, can you bring men to justice under such circumstances? I will retire from the station, said the independent counsel, and you may take other and different men—I will no longer act as your agent. This was honourable to the man.

The appointment of counsel, as I before remarked, never was intended to lead to the conviction of these men. When it was discovered that he was likely to effect that object, they took means to dismiss him indirectly, and to induce the public to believe it was done in good faith. In a short space of time, another is exercising the duties of that office, and what *will be* done by him can only be surmised by what *has been* done.

I fear I shall be tedious, but I must mention a few important facts in relation to the trial at Niagara. The late trial of Ezekiel Jewett, who had the care of the magazine, came on at a special court appointed for the purpose. A high judicial officer, one of the bench of the Supreme Court of the state of New-York, was selected to preside at the trial. And what was the result? It was the punishment of several witnesses, and a total exemption from punishment of all the accused. The judge said, if he could not punish the defendants, he could punish the witnesses.

The trial came on, and exhibited one of the most singular spectacles ever seen in a court of justice. It was not enough that three or four counsel came forward to defend the accused, as the laws permit, but the witnesses also had counsel, and from time to time, as questions were put to them, these witnesses retired for consultation with their separate counsel.

Is this a court of justice? At least it exhibited a new course of proceeding. A question would be put by the prosecuting officer. The witness would object to answering it. Time was consumed in urging the question; then the counsel for the witness would rise and object, that the answer would have a bearing against him, and would proceed to show how and where: an unprecedented course of proceeding, a kind of triangular trial.

On this trial numerous witnesses were called from different parts of the country. All the facts stated in the report respecting Morgan's being carried to Niagara, were substantiated fully. The only means of escape was, that no testimony appeared directly implicating Jewett in the transaction, and bringing it home to his personal knowledge that Morgan was confined in the magazine. The testimony was much the same as that on the trial at Canandaigua. Isaac Farewell had been twice before sent for as a witness, and by the exertions of the commit-

tee, a few days before the trial, was proceeding homeward to his family, whom he had not seen for more than a year. On his way he came to the house of Soloman C. Wright, who is a free-mason. They succeeded, by the aid of Wright's wife, in making him believe, that during his absence his wife's affections had become alienated, and that she was about to be married to another. This, with other circumstances, induced him to consent to be put into a one-horse waggon, and to be covered over with a buffalo skin, and transported by the woman and a small boy fourteen miles, to the line of Canada. Finally, it was ascertained where he had stopped, and his wife was employed to go after him, but before she reached the place he had changed his residence to another place, not far off; but, for fear of his being kidnapped and brought to this side, the masons succeeded in transporting him further into the interior, and the testimony of that man could not be procured on that trial, or the previous one.

Turner, who is now deputy marshal, for taking the census of the county of Niagara, was called on as a witness. He refused to answer, and contemned the laws.

The most important witness was Wm. P. Daniels, who was called upon to testify, but he refused; the law was laid down to him by the judge, but he refused to answer three, four, or five different questions, on the express ground that it would criminate himself, as an accessory in the murder of William Morgan. This testimony was wrenched from him with great difficulty: the writhings and contortions of the man showed that conscience was at work. The judge remarked, "If you answer in this way without its being true, you commit perjury." On another occasion he said to one of the witnesses, "I fear you have more regard for the defendant than you have for yourself." Such is free-masonry in its naked deformity. These men had nearly all occupied high stations in society, and the result was, that although the testimony was sufficient to convince any intelligent jury, yet they were acquitted.

I might have mentioned one other important fact. A juror was called on, but objected to on account of his being a mason. The juror was asked to answer this question, "Is there any thing in the laws of your institution, which will punish a mason for inflicting punishment on a traitor?" He gave a negative answer, and for that, among other reasons, the juror was set aside.

There are many other facts and circumstances which I might mention, to show the principles of free-masonry to be the same in all parts of the world.

It is mentioned in the report, that these masons experienced the sympathy of the order. Eli Bruce was called up, and refused to testify; and although under the sentence of the law upon a previous conviction for this outrage, yet the house where he lodged was thronged by masons passing to and from his lodgings. It appeared like a constant levee.

Another circumstance: It is mentioned that William King escaped from Cantonment Towson, and returned to Niagara. Yet that man, whose guilt was established by many witnesses, immediately after he returned, inserted a notice in the papers, that he, William King, had returned to the county of Niagara, and if any one had business to transact with him, he was ready to wait upon them!

And what was the conduct of the brethren towards him? They assembled about him, encircled him, visited him, drank with him, and toasted him, and most kindly sympathized with him. So much were they encouraged, that the meetings of their chapter, which had been for a considerable time suspended, were now revived. This, however, was of short duration. Since then, that chapter has been as still as the house of death; and I hope it will ever remain so.

Turner was convicted of contumacious conduct, and put into the jail of Niagara. The first act they did after he was lodged in the cell, was to procure for him certain articles of luxury and elegance, with which he was complimented.

There is another fact, which should excite a blush of shame. Young ladies, the daughters of masons, assembled and went to the prison, and visited the young man, while he was imprisoned. When his term expired, a grand cavalcade was formed, and, with a coach and four, drew up to take him from the jail to a public house. Thus ended that farce.

Here is the sympathy of free-masonry for criminals. It shows itself in every possible form and shape.

What I have mentioned I believe to be matter of fact. I have not attempted to exaggerate. There are many other interesting facts which I have not mentioned. Time forbids to mention them: and there are gentlemen present who are acquainted with the particulars of that outrage, who can furnish facts of the highest importance in addition to those which I have mentioned.

The Address of the Convention to the People of the United States being under consideration,

Mr. Morse, of New-Jersey, spoke as follows:

Mr. President,—The address reported is just. Masonic obligations are the same in all countries; and the man who has assumed them is every where and always a mason. Such was the understanding of the writer of the letter to the Honourable Lewis Williams, chairman of the committee of claims, in the House of Representatives, attempting to bribe him as a member and as a mason. Never have I before heard of this letter. Never until this instant have I been apprised that this attempt had been made. But, sir, I know the writer personally and masonically; and I do not wonder at his confidence in the (supposed) free-masonry of the Hon. Mr. Williams. He had previously experienced the power and fidelity of the craft. On the 4th of July, 1827, I was introduced to Col. John Anderson, at Monroe, on the river Raisin, and on the next day he related to me in substance, the following:—When the last war was declared, I was a British subject trading at this place, and refused to obey the proclamation of a British commander, summoning his majesty's subjects to return to the territory, and thereby exposed myself to the penalty of treason. As soon as Gen. Hull surrendered, a British colonel was charged to arrest me. Fortunately for me, this colonel was a mason. "I would give," said he, "the Devil his due. He did as he was bound by masonic obligations to do, for we both belonged to the society; he sent on a messenger to apprize me of my danger, that I might escape. But what was a day or two for a man to close his business in and be off? I had not been gone but a few hours before the British colonel arrived, and his soldiers were in my house and store, breaking open chests, &c. I lost much property, was compelled to flee to the Scioto in Ohio, where I was forced to remain all winter, and such was the effect upon my mind that it caused my hair at once to turn white."

Masonic obligations are the same upon the ocean as among Indians and Canadians: for when the son of Benjamin Russell, Esq. grand master of the grand lodge of Massachusetts, was made a prisoner (in the late war) and carried into the harbour of Halifax, the British masons effected his liberation, as an officer of that grand lodge informed me, on account of the masonic standing of his father.

THE

ADDRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION

Held in Philadelphia, September 11, 1830.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

ADOPTED UPON THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, OF WHICH
MYRON HOLLEY
OF NEW YORK WAS CHAIRMAN.

PUBLISHED BY
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1830.

1830.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Fellow Citizens:

It is the privilege of freemen to consult together, openly and peaceably, on all subjects interesting to their common welfare. And so long as the opinion of a majority shall prevail, enlightened and frequent consultation, among them, will furnish the most efficacious and acceptable means of expelling wrongs, and removing fears. Wrongs the most cruel and criminal have been committed, and fears the most agitating and well founded, exist, among us. To confer together, and to address you, upon these evils, and the most wholesome means to be adopted for their suppression, we have been delegated to assemble here, by a portion of your countrymen, respectable for their intelligence, and dedicated in heart and life, to the free constitutions and laws of our country. In executing the momentous duties assigned us, we would proceed, in the ingenuous and free spirit of men, who earnestly seek the good of all.

Facts numerous and authentic, demonstrate the existence, in this community, of crimes and dangers, which, upon their first distinct disclosure to honest inquiry, excite equal surprise and solicitude; and which cannot be reflected upon, by any mind imbued with genuine self-respect, and a just regard for human rights, without the deepest abhorrence and alarm.

Freemasonry is the source of these crimes and dangers.

In 1826, William Morgan, your free fellow citizen, was, by highly exalted members of the masonic fraternity, with unlawful violence, seized,—secretly transported through the country more than one hundred miles, to a fortress of the United States, then in charge of freemasons, who had prepared it for his reception,—there imprisoned, several days and nights, against his utmost efforts to escape,—and after suffering the most unmanly insults, and the most inhuman abuse, he was privately murdered. Previously to his seizure, numerous meetings of freemasons, in lodges and otherwise, were held for the purpose of contriving and adopting the most certain means of carrying into effect, their unlawful objects upon him. These meetings were attended, and the designs of them approved, by several hundred of the most respectable and intelligent of the masonic brethren. They included legislators, judges, sheriffs, clergymen, generals, physicians, and lawyers. And they proceeded in discharge of, what they deemed, their masonic duties

William Morgan was a royal arch mason. And the cause of all this unlawful violence against his liberty and life, was, his determination to publish the secrets of the order. These secrets are now published, partly from manuscripts prepared by him, but more extensively from the deliberate testimony of many worthy men, who had been initiated further into the dark mysteries of the brotherhood, than he had. The precise motive, which impelled Morgan to the determination of publishing, we do not know. As the act was one of conformity to his highest obligations, and therefore, of distinguished honour, we believe the motive to have been good. There is no room to doubt, that other members of the institution, being aware of the solemn fate, to which freemasonry had consigned him, for disobedience to its laws, felt themselves driven, by the fearful responsibility of membership, most carefully to weigh its objects, means, and tendency; and finding these, upon mature examination, to be wholly unjustifiable and dangerous, they were impelled, by good will to man, by allegiance to our government, and by the natural desire of self-approbation, to proclaim its character, and renounce its authority.

To assist in publishing the secrets of freemasonry a printer was employed. Against him, the malice of the fraternity was conspicuously displayed. While the manuscripts of Morgan, with all the printed sheets, were supposed to be in the printing office, it was fired, in the night, by a masonic incendiary, with such ingenious preparations as were well calculated to insure its speedy destruction, with that of all its contents. The office was a wooden building, of which the siding immediately under the stairs leading to the printing apartment, was smeared over with spirits of turpentine; and cotton balls, and straw filled with the same combustible substance, were scattered around its foundations. The fire was discovered almost as soon as applied, and happily extinguished. But the reckless determination of the incendiary, and his coadjutors, is farther confirmed, by considering, that a family of ten persons occupied the lower part of the building; while the printer's assistants, six in number, always slept in the upper rooms. The incendiary is known, and was subsequently a principal in the murder of Morgan.

Other evidences of malice against the printer have been manifested. On one occasion, large numbers of masonic ruffians, armed with clubs, assembled under different leaders, in the night time, in the vicinity of the printing office, with the declared purpose of obtaining the intended publication, by violence; from which they were prevented only, by the formidable preparations to defend it, made by the printer. On another occasion, a masonic constable accompanied and abetted, by a crowd of his brethren, under a false pretence of having a criminal process, for that purpose, arrested him,—carried him to a neighbouring village,—there illegally confined him in a lodge room,—assaulted him, and threatened him with the fate of Morgan. By the assistance of friends, and the exertion of his own active intrepidity, the printer at length escaped. It is a remarkable circumstance evincing extensive concert and premeditation, that, on the day of this arrest, all the magistrates of the town, where it took place, were

summoned into another town as witnesses, and could not be applied to, for any interposition of the civil authority, to preserve the public peace, or to protect the rights of the intended victim. For these offences, the constable and several others were indicted, and convicted.

The scene of these occurrences was the western part of the state of New York.

Where the people are intelligent and free, such enormities as those, to which we have referred, could not be committed, without producing excitement. Every unperverted feeling, and every upright voice, anxiously claimed the impartial and prompt application to them, of the appointed powers of our criminal jurisprudence. Then began to draw on, that dark eclipse, upon the vaunted lights of freemasonry, which, to the public eye, is rapidly becoming total, and through the eternal shadows of which, nothing will be discernible hereafter, but blood.

In this alarming emergency, the agents of government seemed paralyzed. Our public institutions and provisions for the preservation of tranquility, and the repression of crime, seemed nugatory. And without the use of other means than the law, and its official ministers, the most daring and brutal inroads, upon our dearest rights, would have passed off, without effort to understand their origin, punish their instruments, or provide against their recurrence. No arts were left untried by freemasons to baffle the pursuit of truth, and defeat the administration of justice. The lion's grip of the order was upon our courts, and loyalty to that, displaced fealty to the state.

A large proportion of the constables, justices of the peace, lawyers, judges, sheriffs, and jurymen, of the counties where these acts were performed, were members of the society, and had taken oaths binding them, in terms, to conceal each other's crimes. The high sheriffs were all masons, and at that time, summoned as grand jurors, at their discretion, any such men as had the common qualifications. In the counties of Genesee and Niagara, where the fraternity were most afraid of criminal prosecutions, majorities of freemasons are known to have been corruptly returned as grand jurors. And these sheriffs of these counties were both indicted, subsequently, as parties to the conspiracy for the abduction of Morgan. One of them was tried and convicted; the trial of the other has not yet taken place.

Perceiving that the public functionaries, whose duty it is to initiate proceedings in criminal cases, were totally inactive, through cowardice or corruption the people, who are both the proprietors and beneficiaries of every department of government, undertook to inquire and present for themselves, in relation to these offences; with the determination, however, to use, as far as possible, the constituted authorities, and in no case, to overstep the rights reserved to them. They proceeded, in the generous spirit of men, to whose enlightened views, the general safety affords enough of motive and reward, for the most arduous exertion. They called public meetings, at which honest and intelligent committees were raised, to ascertain facts, and aid the public functionaries. And these

committees entered with patriotic alacrity, upon the performance of some of the most difficult and responsible duties of freemen. Without any emolument, at great expense of time and money, in defiance of the most malignant, persevering, and ingenious counteraction of freemasons, they suspended their private concerns, and gave themselves up to all the labours of a complicated investigation. In these proceedings they could obtain no testimony, which was not voluntary, they derived no assistance from office, their motives were most venomously slandered, their conduct belied, and their lives endangered. Still they went on, fearlessly, disinterestedly, sagaciously, and successfully. The outrages had extended over six counties. It was a singular spectacle, indicative of the safety, and prophetic of the perpetuity, of our free institutions, to see private citizens traversing these counties, inquiring anxiously and cautiously, but severely, impartially, and persistingly, into all the circumstances of crimes the most revolting, for the sole purpose of opening the way most likely to be effectual, for their judicial exposure and punishment.

Whatever could be done by good and wise men, without special lawful authority, was performed, by these committees. They ascertained the principal facts respecting the kidnapping and murder, both as to the persons directly concerned in them, and their motives and principles of action; and thus laid a sure foundation,—not for the lawful conviction and condemnation of those who are most guilty; that has hitherto been rendered impossible, by the felon sympathies and powerful interposition of freemasonry,—but for the universal and endless execration of their crimes, and of the institution in which they originated.

Bills of indictment have been found for several of the minor offences; and convictions have followed in a few cases,—upon the confession of the culprits, in some, and after protracted trials, in others. But most of those, who have been indicted, have been acquitted. In the conduct of these trials, the influence of freemasonry has been constantly apparent; and the whole force of it has been exerted to exile truth and justice from their most consecrated altars.

A faithful and able state officer, whose special duty it was made, by law, to institute inquiries into these offences, officially reported, in respect to the proceedings of which he had the charge, "Difficulties which never occurred in any other prosecution, have been met at every step. Witnesses have been secreted; they have been sent off into Canada, and into different states of the Union. They have been apprised of process being issued to compel their attendance, and have been thereby enabled to evade its service. In one instance, after a party implicated had been arrested and brought into this state, (New York,) he was decoyed from the custody of the individual having him in charge, and finally escaped. These occurrences have been so numerous and various as to forbid the belief, that they are the result of individual effort alone; and they have evinced the concert of so many agents as to indicate an extensive combination to screen from punishment, those charged with a participation in the offences upon William Morgan."

The services of this officer continued for but one year. By other prosecuting officers, and the committees, to which we have before alluded, many other important facts have been ascertained. All the persons engaged, in these outrages, were royal arch masons, at the time of their perpetration, or made so immediately after. Many masons called as witnesses, have notoriously committed perjury. Others have excused themselves from testifying, by alleging that they could not do so, without criminating themselves. Even since the time has elapsed, beyond which no prosecution can be lawfully instituted, for any participation in them, not amounting to a capital offence, some witnesses have contumaciously refused to be sworn at all; and others, having taken the requisite oath, have repeatedly refused to answer questions decided to be lawful, through the alleged fear of self-crimination, and that, after being warned from the bench, that they would be guilty of perjury, if they persisted in it, and were not actually implicated in the murder. And yet, all the convicts, and these witnesses more infamous than the convicts, are held up, by the exalted and influential of the fraternity, as heroes of fidelity to their duty, and victims to the prejudices of their fellow citizens. And they are still retained, as worthy and cherished members of the order.

Morgan's blood was shed, without any pretence that he had infringed the laws of the land, and with little or no private malice, on the part of those by whom he fell. The persons most deeply implicated, in the guilt of his fall, were industrious, intelligent, and reputable citizens, bound to life and to society, by all the usual ties. They did not proceed hastily, nor adopt their ultimate decision, without manifest and painful reluctance. Before they took his life, they deliberated, earnestly, frequently, and long, upon their masonic obligations. These obligations they thought binding. He had certainly and essentially violated them. The unanimous result of all their deliberations was, that he must die. And in the understanding of all masonic exposition, as well as of common sense, if the obligations were binding, they were right, in their decision.

A brave man had determined to reveal the secrets of freemasonry; and as he could not be prevented otherwise, his life was taken, in conformity with masonic laws. Having gone thus far, in transgression, the titular dignitaries of the order had less reluctance in going further. Accordingly, by banter, ridicule, and misrepresentation, they endeavoured to repress all inquiry into their conduct. Finding themselves not wholly successful in this, they prepared, as well as they could, for the exigencies of that judicial investigation, which they were not able to avoid.

The most prominent of the criminals fled. One of them confessing himself stained with the murder, and claiming assistance from a masonic body, in the city of New York, received it, and was effectually aided to escape to a foreign country. Some confessed themselves guilty of subordinate offences, to prevent the examination of witnesses, whom they knew able to establish, in detail, the foulest. Able standing counsel were employed, by the fraternity, to defend the

criminals. Those who were convicted, were subjects of the deepest masonic sympathy, and received frequent aids, from organized bodies of their brethren.

While these various acts identified the institution at large, with the well known criminals, and exhibited the true principles of the association, high individual masons, and high bodies of the fraternity, were guilty of the grossest arts of deception to mislead the public, and save the institution. Thompson and Ganson, who were active conspirators in the abduction of Morgan, and the outrages accompanying it, signed a notice offering a reward of one hundred dollars for the conviction of the offender, who set fire to the printing office! The grand royal arch chapter of the state of New York, resolved that *individually and as a body*, they disclaimed all knowledge or approbation of the abduction of William Morgan. In this grand masonic body upwards of one hundred and ten chapters were represented, and Eli Bruce and John Whitney were members of it, both of whom were afterwards indicted, and convicted of the very offence specified in the resolution! And several committees of lodges, chapters, and encampments, in public addresses, pretended to surrender their charters, in avowed pursuance of public opinion, while in secret, individuals employed on these committees, at the time, and afterwards, exerted every influence in their control, to sustain the institution.

What, then, are the extraordinary principles of a society, which requires and justifies such extraordinary acts?

In all human governments, the principles set forth and adopted, under the sanctions of an oath, are regarded as most essential. With the loyal, no others are permitted to cancel these. And as they are expressed with the greatest attainable perspicuity, the obvious import of the terms in which they are conveyed, is always that, in which they are to be received. An oath is taken under the strongest possible sanction, is intended to be used for the highest purposes, and the form of it is adopted by the supreme authority. Hence, the duties which it prescribes are of the most imperative obligation.

When good men join the masonic society, and inconsiderately swear to obey its injunctions, without knowing what they are, as every mason does, they imagine there must, of course, be a reservation in favour of all civil and social duties. But this is a total mistake. The first oath, and many others in the series, fatally precludes it. It is a part of the language of the oaths, that the specific engagements contained in them, shall all be performed, "without any mental reservation, equivocation, or self-evasion of mind whatever." And any brother who does not so perform them, voluntarily subjects himself to the penalty of death.

What duties do the masonic oaths impose?

The entered apprentice swears, "I will always hail, ever conceal, and never reveal any part . . of the secrets . . . of freemasonry which I have received, am about to receive, or may hereafter be instructed in, &c."

The fellow craft swears, "I will support the constitution of the grand lodge . . . . . and conform to all the by-laws, rules, and regulations of this or any

other lodge of which I may become a member . . . . I will obey all regular signs and summons given, handed, sent, or thrown to me, by the hand of a brother fellow craft mason, &c."

The master mason swears, "I will not give the grand hailing sign of distress, except I am in real distress . . . and should I ever see that sign given, or the word accompanying it, and the person who gave it appearing to be in distress, I will fly to his relief, at the risk of my life, should there be a greater probability of saving his life than of losing my own . . . . I will not speak evil of a brother mason neither behind his back, nor before his face, but will apprise him of all approaching danger, if in my power . . . a master mason's secrets given to me in charge as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable in my breast as in his own, before communicated to me, murder and treason excepted, and they left at my own election, &c."

The mark master swears, "I will support the constitution of the general grand royal arch chapter of the United States: also, the grand royal arch chapter of this state, &c."

The royal arch mason swears, "I will aid and assist a companion royal arch mason, when engaged in any difficulty, and espouse his cause, so far as to extricate him from the same, if in my power, whether he be right or wrong. I will promote a companion royal arch mason's political preferment, in preference to another of equal qualifications. A companion royal arch mason's secrets, given me in charge as such, and I knowing him to be such, shall remain as secure and inviolable, in my breast as in his own, murder and treason not excepted, &c."

From the first obligation of the thrice illustrious knight of the cross, the candidate under oath receives the following injunctions: "To the end of your life, you will not, in consideration of gain, interest, or honour, nor with good or bad design, ever take any, the least step or measure, or be instrumental in any such object, to betray any secret appertaining to the order and degree known among masons as the thrice illustrious order of the cross: should you know another to violate any essential point of this obligation, you will use your most decided endeavours, by the blessing of God, to bring such person to the strictest and most condign punishment, agreeably to the rules and usages of our ancient fraternity, and this by pointing him out to the world as an unworthy vagabond, by opposing his interest, by deranging his business, by transferring his character after him wherever he may go, and by exposing him to the contempt of the whole fraternity, and the world, but of our illustrious order more especially, during his whole natural life: nothing herein going to prevent yourself, or any other, when elected to the dignity of thrice illustrious, from retaining the ritual of the order. Should any thrice illustrious knight, or acting officer of any council, which may have them in hand, ever require your aid, in any emergency, in defence of the recovery of the said charge, your swear cheerfully to exercise all assistance in his favour, which the nature of the time and place will admit, even to the sacrifice of life, liberty, and property, &c." From the second obli-

gation of the same degree, the member receives the following injunctions: "You promise to lead a life as upright and just, in relation to all mankind, as you are capable of; but in matters of difference, to prefer the interests of a companion of the order, of a companion's friend, for whom he pleads, to any mere man of the world. You promise never to engage in mean party strife, nor conspiracies against the government or religion of your country, whereby your reputation may suffer, nor ever to associate with dishonourable men, for a moment, except it be to secure the interest of such person, his family, or friends, to a companion, whose necessities may require this degradation at your hands, &c." From the third obligation of the same degree, the member swears, "To put confidence unlimited in every illustrious brother of the cross,—never to permit my political principles to come counter to his, if forbearance and brotherly kindness can operate to prevent it,—to look on his enemies as my enemies, &c."

In the initiation of a candidate as an elected knight of Nine, he goes through the form of murdering a traitor, and swears, "I will revenge the assassination of our worthy master, Hiram Abiff, not only on the murderers, but also, on all who may betray the secrets of this degree, &c."

In the degree of knights adepts of the eagle or sun, there is an exposition of masonic emblems. One of these emblems is that of a man peeping, of which the exposition is this: "The man peeping, and who was discovered, and seized, and conducted to death, is an emblem of those who come to be initiated into our secret mysteries through a motive of curiosity, and if so indiscreet as to divulge their obligations, we are bound to cause their death, and take vengeance on the treason by the destruction of the traitor, &c."

In the degree of knights of Kadosh, the candidate swears "to follow at all times, and in all points, every matter that he is ordered, and prescribed by the illustrious knights and grand commander, without any restrictions," and especially, "to sacrifice the traitors of masonry."

Such are some of the principles expressed in their own language, which are adopted in the masonic degrees alluded to, and imposed upon the members, under circumstances most indecent, profane and frightful. God is deliberately called upon to take notice of the engagements contained in these extracts, and his vengeance invoked, by the member upon himself, if they are not observed: and the member pledges his life to the society, to be sacrificed, in the most barbarous forms, if he violates them.

More detestable principles cannot be imagined. They were never embodied for any purposes of mere speculation. No human mind is so constituted as to derive satisfaction in their contemplation. They excite to crime, and were intended for the shelter and protection of practical iniquity. Those who make them their rules of action, are enemies of the human race.

To these principles Morgan was a traitor, and they required his blood. The best men of the fraternity, who knew of the treachery, in the strength of their infatuated allegiance, became voluntary agents, in effecting the requisition. After the treachery was ascertained, and the fraternity began to move against the

traitor, we see how cunningly adapted the whole masonic machinery is, to the accomplishment of their object with entire impunity. The proof of the authenticity of the revelations of seceding masons, in which the whole machinery is described, in detail, arising from the disinterested and reluctant testimony of a thousand original witnesses, is not greater than that arising from the wonderful and exclusive fitness of the machinery to produce the results we have witnessed. Revealed freemasonry is a stupendous mirror, which reflects, in all their horrors, the exact features of that vast spirit of crime, with which this nation is now wrestling, for all that makes life desirable.

The grosser parts of this machinery, are the secrecy, the private signs, pass words, tokens, grips, and ciphers; the subtler parts are the obligations: and the former are valuable only as they are capable of being employed to give effect to the latter. The obligations, it will be seen, compelled such as acknowledged them,—to passive obedience,—to warn each other of all approaching danger,—to conceal each other's crimes, even the most aggravated,—to extricate each other from difficulty, right or wrong,—to support each other's reputation in all cases,—to oppose the interest and blast the character of unfaithful brethren,—to sacrifice the traitors of freemasonry,—to give each other dishonest preferences, in matters of difference, over the uninitiated,—and to advance each others political preferment in opposition to another.

The practical efficacy of these obligations we have seen,—in all the outrages committed to suppress Morgan's publication, including his abduction and murder,—in the violence upon the printer, and the attempt to burn his office,—in the corruption of courts, sheriffs, and juries,—in the purjuries of witnesses,—in the libels upon honest individuals, courts, and juries,—in the unlawful spiriting away of witnesses,—in the rescue of persons implicated, who were in the custody of law,—in the giving of intelligence to those who were in danger of being arrested as parties, or summoned as witnesses, in time for their escape,—in the universal and persevering denial of facts, by adhering masons,—in the appropriation of money, by the brethren, individually, and collectively, in aid of the convicts and other criminals,—in the employment of standing counsel, by the fraternity, for the implicated,—in the abuse of legal forms, county jails, and a fortress of the United States to the worst purposes of tyranny, the arbitrary imprisonment of a fellow citizen,—in the good fellowship and sympathy of the society with the convicts,—in the contumacious refusal to be sworn in court, by some witnesses, who knew the worst, and to answer by others, after being sworn, to lawful questions, when the refusal necessarily implied perjury, or participation in murder,—and in the political promotion of such numbers of the brethren, as is utterly inconsistent with the equal rights of others.

Can the well informed friends of freedom tolerate a society thus characterized? Is it consistent with the theory or practice of our most valued establishments, with any authority underived from itself, or any safety, but that of its adhering members? It exercises the highest powers of government, raises and appropriates money, makes and executes laws extending to life itself, which each of

its subjects, in the sacred form of oaths, voluntarily abandons to its authority. It is a government of high priests, and kings, and illustrious knights, and grand commanders. And every person, who maintains connexion with it, in effect, renounces all allegiance to other governments, by swearing to perform acts entirely inconsistent with such allegiance, without any mental reservation whatever. In war, in peace, in all the business of life, every obligated mason, is bound to prefer a brother mason to other persons, and masonic duties, to other duties.

Are the masonic obligations binding? The united voice of all moral and political philosophy replies in the negative. The obligations of morality are incurred anterior to all others: they are imposed by authority absolute, and supreme, and can never be remitted. Political obligations are a branch of moral, and partake of the same early and divine origin. We have seen, that the masonic obligations are opposed to these, and they are self-assumed: all self-assumed obligations are posterior, and have no force in opposition to these. The nature of all obligation, as applicable to the mind, implies intelligence and free will: no authority can impose it, where either of these is wanting. One of them is always wanting, and sometimes both, in the oaths of freemasonry. No greater absurdity can be imagined than that an immoral engagement is rendered obligatory, by calling upon God to witness it, and to punish its nonperformance. It supposes that ignorance, vice, and presumption, by adopting the form of an oath, may, at will, employ the authority of the Supreme Being, against his own most sacred and unchanging laws.

Do the oaths of freemasonry disqualify for civil trusts? Wherever they are regarded as obligatory they do. They are inconsistent with fidelity to the constitution, under which all our civil trusts are held, and to the support of which they oblige us. All foreigners, even the most enlightened, though they may be perfectly honest, and capable, though they may reside with us to their life's end, and be practical converts to the truth and beauty of our systems, are disqualified, by being the subjects of other governments. By stronger reasons, adhering freemasons are disqualified; for there is no government so adverse to ours, as theirs is, and none which punishes defection from allegiance with less ceremony, or severer penalties. Is it a circumstance in favour of freemasonry, that it encourages and supports its subjects in the secret usurpation of public offices and honours, to increase its reputation, power and influence? No man *dare* take upon himself the obligations of freemasonry in public. Or if a being should be found hardy enough so to brave the most honoured decencies and duties of life, it is not credible, that, in all free judgment, it would not amount to a universal civil disqualification. Shall secrecy make it otherwise? Shall that which is always the incontestible badge of shame or guilt, when used to cover a standing pursuit, and permanent relations, recommend those who wear it to the confidence of open hearted integrity, and in a government of which the first principles are publicity, accountability, and jealousy of power?

The masonic institution makes it the duty of those who own its authority, in

all cases where other circumstances, in their prepossessed opinion, are equal, to prefer the interests of a brother to those of any other citizen. This preference is the great purpose of its whole organization, the most distinct impress of its entire character. It provides the most crafty and effectual means to make this preference available. These means are intended to be kept wholly concealed from all those whose equal interests and rights it proscribes: and the more certainly to secure this object, it makes high pretensions of promoting the greatest of our earthly blessings, science, charity, and religion. All authentic disclosures of its history show it to be selfish, circumventive, and hypocritical, and are little else than pregnant proofs of its dishonour. Every man, who has taken its obligations, and considers them binding, by the clearest intimations of civil prudence and moral rectitude, is disqualified, for offices of power and honour, out of its own unhallowed precincts.

Supposing only a part of the degrees, to which we have alluded, have been taken, such men cannot safely be our generals, for they are bound, even in behalf of a foreign enemy, if he be a mason, to give him notice of all approaching danger, and to stay the uplifted sword of their country's battle. They cannot safely be our negotiators for peace, against the negotiator of a foreign enemy, if he be a mason, for they are bound to look on his enemies as their enemies, and his friends as their friends. They cannot safely be our legislators, for masonry impliedly permits them to engage in mean party strife, and conspiracies against the government, if they can do so without loss of reputation,—and to degrade themselves, by associating with dishonourable men, for the purpose of securing their interest, and that of their friends, to a brother, whose necessities may require it. They cannot safely be our executive officers, for they are bound to aid a brother so as to relieve him from any difficulty, if in their power, whether he be right or wrong. They cannot safely be our judges, or jurymen, because they are bound to give a brother notice of all approaching danger, and even fly to his relief, upon his giving them the masonic sign of distress, if there is a greater probability of saving his life than of losing their own, and because they are bound to an unlawful partiality, in all matters of difference between their brethren and uninitiated. Our laws intend, that all inquiries and determinations, by grand jurors, shall be without fear, favour, partiality, or hope of reward, and that all trials, by petit jurors and judges shall be decided, by the evidence and the law applicable thereto, and by nothing else. Freemasonry binds her votaries to other, and avowedly partial, grounds of decision. Who can describe the sum of injuries and wrongs corruptly inflicted upon the world, through the medium of such offices, by such principles? In the great freehold of our government, to confer such offices upon such men, by those who never have assumed the principles, or have cast them off, would be a self-sacrifice equally reproachful and disastrous.

To contrive the true theory of free government, is the proudest evidence of human intelligence: to institute such a government, the most glorious achievement of human wisdom: and to sustain it, with unfailing constancy, the greatest

monument of human virtue. Our government is the inestimable purchase of the profound reflection, painful labours, disinterested exertions, and searching trials, of all past ages. It is free. We believe it to be the best that ever existed, because, more than any other, it corresponds with the rights, and encourages the duties of all men, over whom it is extended; and thus, more than any other, seeks and promotes the improvement and happiness of its subjects. But our government cannot be continued, without the active, strenuous, and constant, maintenance of principles directly opposed to those of freemasonry.

The first and most prominent injunction of freemasonry is secrecy. Any violation of this it punishes with infamy and death. Secrecy is the shutting up of the mind from communion with other minds. And so far as it prevails, in relation to any social good, it is selfish, sour, ignorant, and restless. Left absolutely alone, like a plant separated from the earth and the air, we should soon wither and die. And it would be no matter how soon, for if it were possible to keep us in such a state, we should be good for nothing. Our faculties are not at all adapted to it. Hermits are always the most miserable men. Ascetic and secluded associations have never been wise, or good, or happy. Neither is freemasonry, which inculcates their worst principles, not in melancholy seclusion from the world, but in the heart of it, the more successfully to prey upon it.

A virtuous mind cannot delight in secrecy. Its joy is in communion. We are made sociable by nature. Our best affections and our highest faculties equally indicate it. For they can neither be expanded into useful action, nor carry with them their appropriate rewards, without society. As social beings, if we discover useful facts, or important truths, we desire to communicate them to all, who are susceptible of benefits from their application. As all the principles of science, charity, and religion, are susceptible of beneficial application to the whole human race, good men and good governments will impose no artificial restriction, upon their universal diffusion. On the contrary, they will strenuously exert themselves to promote it. And there is no human praise, which imparts so much of the ineffable joy, that will accompany the *final well done* divinely pronounced upon the virtuous, as that which is the honest fruit of such exertions.

But secrecy is not more hostile to the spreading of useful facts and truths, than it is to their discovery. Free inquiry, free discussion, free communication, are essential requisites to the most valuable knowledge. In the arts and sciences, in ethics and theology, all liberal minds acknowledge their indispensable importance. In the political conduct of life, their importance is, if possible, still more manifest. They are the living foundations of our government, which would be speedily dissolved, in blood, without them. No man has ever yet sufficiently valued them: for they alone can safely be relied upon, to open and illuminate all the paths, in which the majestic power of public opinion displays itself. But freemasonry is opposed to free inquiry, free discussion, and free communication. Its great fear is publicity, its best virtue, silence. It pro-

fesses to have inestimable treasures of social benefits, which it refuses to disclose to any but the small number of its devoted followers. In reference to all others, instead of employing, to communicate them, the various languages, in which all the patriotism and piety, the joys and sorrows, the useful discoveries and honourable designs, the undying thoughts and unfading hopes of the whole human family have been expressed, it conceals them, by substituting barbarous signs and uncouth ciphers. It first enslaves the mind by the chain of secrecy, then debases it by injurious ceremonies and vile principles, and finally insults it by mock titles and simulated virtues. It is incompetent to the support of any valuable object. There is no real duty, no honest enjoyment, no benevolent purpose, which cannot better be accomplished without it. It is a fit system for the outlaws of humanity and hope, hating the world, and making war upon it. With a misanthropic caution it excludes all the helpless and infirm from its communion, and with the stimulated ingenuity of experienced and impenitent guilt, it provides against detection and exposure. Its existence in our country is the greatest anomaly of modern times; and it is to be accounted for only, by the unsuspecting confidence in their fellow citizens, natural to men conscious of their liberty. Aware of this trait in the character of our people, designing members of the fraternity, and those who are weak enough to find pleasure in its fantastic frivolities and bloated titles, have lengthened its cords till they now probably embrace more than a hundred thousand of our countrymen.

Of this number, we cannot doubt, that a large proportion cherish no part of the spirit of the institution. Invited to join it, by its lofty pretensions, in early life they entered its threshhold. And, although disgusted at every step, for the purpose of understanding an institution, which they had once consented to enter, they suffered themselves to be raised to the second or third degree. Nothing could induce them to go further. Such were most of the masons, whose illustrious names have been so often abusively and boastfully arrayed, to shield the institution from the consuming reprobation now every where provoked against it, in unprejudiced minds, by its full and accurate exposure. These men in the bottom of their souls have all renounced it.

But there are other members of very different character, who adhere to it, with a tenacity exactly proportioned to their estimate of its adaptation to their evil designs. Washington represented it as capable of being employed for the basest purposes, and never visited a lodge, but once or twice, in the last thirty years of his life.

We live in an age of singular interest, and are the depositories of immeasurable responsibilities. Our ancestors voluntarily left their native seats,—broke up the strong and amiable ties of local association,—tore themselves from all their kindred, in spite of the absorbing and ingrained affections of consanguinity, and planted themselves, in the most secluded and dangerous wastes of nature. All the privations and sufferings of this course, they heroically met and endured, to preserve the rights of the mind. In these are to be found all the springs of

liberty, civil and religious. And they constitute the only incorruptible wealth of the created, and uncreated, universe. By asserting them and preserving them with unparalleled and holy fortitude, our ancestors laid a sure foundation for a most unsullied and constantly increasing fame. All social action is commendable, or the reverse, as it advances or opposes these rights. Falsehood, injustice, cruelty, oppression, murder, treason, and every other imaginable crime, implies hostility to them, and is therefore to be resisted and subdued.

These are the great truths, taught by our early history. And profoundly impressed upon the minds of our citizens, they cannot be eradicated. One of the important inferences from them is, that individuals are not the property of government, but government the property of individuals, who have a right to modify, change, or abolish it, as a majority of those, who constitute it, may think most conducive to the common welfare. In support of this inference, our revolutionary war was waged, and our civil constitutions adopted. And these glorious events, while they have sent us forward, with unparalleled vigour and celerity in the road of improvement, have opened new prospects and awakened higher hopes, in the great family of nations. Following our example, the people are, every where, gradually understanding and claiming their rights. The arrogant pretenders to arbitrary power are sinking into comparative disesteem. And the only just government of human origin, that of public opinion, is universally raising on high, and spreading abroad, the welcome and protecting ensigns of her supremacy.

To this government freemasonry is wholly opposed. It requires unresisting submission to its own authority in contempt of public opinion,—the claims of conscience,—and the rights of private judgment. It would dam up the majestic current of improving thoughts, among all its subjects throughout the earth, by restricting beneficial communication. In attempting to do this, it has stained our country with a brother's blood, tempted many of our influential citizens into the most degrading forms of falsehood, and burst away, with its powers undiminished, its vengeance provoked, and its pollutions manifest, from the strong arm of distributive justice.

It is one of the striking evidences of the wisdom of the framers of our constitution, and a bright presage of its perpetuity, that it is fit for all emergencies. It contains provisions, which are abundantly adequate to the subversion of freemasonry. Perfectly convinced, that such a subversion must be effected or our liberties wrested from us, let us inquire, what are these provisions?

They cannot be found in our state legislatures, or in that of the union. The great object of legislation among us is to secure the rights, and promote the improvement of the people. To do this, the powers to legislate are defined and delegated. And these powers must not be transcended, or legislation would become usurpation. Against such usurpation suitable checks are contrived, and the people entertain a conservative jealousy.

All valuable discoveries, and beneficent exertions, originate with individuals. To perfect these, and apply them to practical improvement, men must be free.

They must be permitted to associate as they please. To prevent them from meeting together and communicating, according to their own inclinations, either secretly or openly, by legislation, would be, to shut out the most useful labours and the purest enjoyments of life. But for every encroachment upon the rights of others, men must be answerable to some competent tribunal, or all, for which governments are instituted, would be insecure. Such a tribunal cannot be a legislature.

The means of overthrowing freemasonry cannot be found in any, or in all, of our executive authorities. These are discreetly restrained within limits entirely too narrow for such an effect.

They cannot be found in our judicial establishments. To these we are accustomed to look as the sacred shield of right, the inviolable refuge of innocence, and the steadfast avenger of guilt. They are the most trusted of our governmental departments. The qualities intended to be combined in them, of knowledge, disinterestedness, and firmness; the powers and duties, with which they are invested, to inquire, to deliberate, and to determine; and the means placed in their hands, to enforce their determinations, upon all the wide range of precious interests committed to their care, make them the most venerable and august of human institutions. They come up, in the estimation of good men, and in the holiest attributes of earthly power, next to the sovereign people themselves. But against freemasonry, the most alarming experience proves their ministry to be unavailing. The same jealousy of delegated authority, which our spirit of liberty applies to legislative and executive functions, it also applies, in some degree, to those of our courts of justice. The disabilities imposed by the people, to prevent oppression, upon every branch of power, carved out of the great aggregate of the national power, constitute the true reason, why all the branches referred to, are insufficient to exterminate the evils of freemasonry. But it does not, therefore, follow, that no sufficient means exist. They do exist. They belong to this nation by titles, which we deem forever indefeasible. They are derived directly from the Most High. They have been in our possession, from the commencement of our history, though sometimes defended by blood. They consist in the just exercise of the rights reserved by the people to themselves, as the great constituent, supervising proprietors of the republic.

In the first address of Mr. Jefferson, as president of the United States, he denominates "the right of election by the people a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided." This is the only adequate corrective of freemasonry,—that prolific source of the worst abuses. And to this we must resort.

The abuses of which we complain involve the highest crimes, of which man can be guilty, because they indicate the deepest malice, and the most fatal aim. They bespeak the most imminent danger, because they have proceeded from a conspiracy more numerous and better organized for mischief, than any other detailed in the records of man, and yet, though exposed, maintaining itself, in all its monstrous power. That murder has been committed, is now acknowledged

by all. That it has been so committed, and the malefactors have acted under such authority, and have been so aided and comforted, as to carry the guilt of treason, cannot be doubted. Protection from these crimes, is the first duty of government, and the object for which it is invested with its highest powers. But protection cannot be secured, by the ordinary means. Shall it therefore be abandoned? Shall we forego, in behalf of freemasonry, or through fear of it, the primary purpose of civil organization? If we are true to ourselves it is certain we need not forego it; we can practically enforce it: for the rights of election remain. In these may be found full means,—not of punishing the criminals,—but of precluding any repetition of their crimes,—of giving us that security against them, which is better than punishment, which is, indeed, the only proper object of all human punishment. The use of these means we advocate. Our adversaries reprobate it, and represent it as oppressive and persecuting.

The exercise of the elective franchise is as much a function of our government as any one performed, by legislatures, executive magistrates, or judges. And the honest, intelligent, and fearless use of it, by all to whom it pertains, is as much a duty, in every case, as a similar use of other functions is, in any case, by those to whom they pertain. Such a use of the elective function is the duty most imperious, because it is the great corrective, in the last resort, of all other functions.

To say that the powers of government should not be applied to the masonic outrages at all, would be so preposterous, as justly to excite suspicion of being implicated in them. Besides, it is now too late for any persons to say this with consistency; for since the inadequacy of all judicial application to them has been apparent, even adhering freemasons say, it was not improper to appeal to the courts: "punish the guily." But if it was proper to appeal to the courts, in the first place, and that appeal has been rendered nugatory, by the criminal interference of freemasonry, the reason for appealing to the powers of government against the outrages, is immeasurably strengthened, not diminished. There is, therefore, no impropriety in resorting to the elective franchise to correct the evils of freemasonry. It invades no man's rights. It gives no man reason to complain. It is no more disreputable than it is to resort to a legislature, or a court of law, for the correction of an evil, which they were instituted to redress. Would it be tolerated, for a moment, to stigmatize as oppression and persecution, a resort to our legislators, for the passage of a law to promote the public security, or to our judicial tribunals, for the punishment of crime? Neither can it be, thus to stigmatize a resort to the elective franchise, for the abolishing of freemasonry, which is fatal to all security, and the very charnal house of crime.

If freemasonry ought to be abolished, it should certainly be so abolished as to prevent its restoration. No means of doing this can be conceived so competent as those furnished by the ballot boxes. These means are commended to our adoption, by the most urgent considerations, by their mildness, their safety, their sufficiency, and the tested insufficiency of all others. They are the means provided, by the most venerated of our political fathers. Who shall disparage them?

Whoever is opposed to freemasonry and really desires its extinction, must use them, or confess himself a slave or tyrant. To extinguish it, by violence, would be tyranny, if it were possible. To extinguish it, by the expression of honest convictions against it, would not be tyranny, but it cannot be accomplished, unless a majority unite in such expression; and whether they do or not, cannot be ascertained, without a general vote. To desire its extinction, and do nothing to effect it, must proceed from indolence, fear, or the imagined force of assumed obligations in its favour, either of which amounts to a degrading slavery. To such slavery who is willing to submit? In truth none, who are not opposed to using every other means against it, are opposed to using our elective rights against it; and those who are opposed to using our elective rights against it, uniformly use their elective rights in its favour. The higher freemasons are expressly sworn to do it. Thus they adopt a conduct, which they stigmatize in us, as oppressive and persecuting, and which is so, when adopted secretly, by virtue of unlawful obligations, and in favour of a class of citizens, who associate for securing to themselves unequal privileges.

Anti-masons would defend their rights, the laws of their country, and the most sacred treasures of liberty, from a fearful assault. Seeking to preserve and perpetuate all the blessings intended to be secured, by our government, they would proceed, in the spirit of strict conformity with its provisions. And they invite all, who appreciate these blessings, to join them. They have no secret purposes to accomplish,—no selfish objects to promote,—no time, nor means to cast away, in idle ostentation, or for useless notoriety.—They know the country is in danger; and they come forth, from their retirements, to shield it. On their farms, in their shops, at their counters, in their offices, and at their desks, they have heard the wail of the bereaved widow and orphans, and, feeling the sympathies of humanity, they have inquired how they became so. The answer to this inquiry, and the history connected with it, gave them their distinctive appellation, and compelled them publicly and openly to unite, for defending the most essential objects of society. Attached to their government, by conviction, habit, duty, and hope, they cannot patiently see its walls of protection overthrown, its principles undermined, or its power derided. In their minds, no names of human majesty are so dignified as that of freeman, no earthly interests so valuable as those of the nation, and no course of action so sure to be commendable as that, which invites public scrutiny, and is held to a just accountability. Murder and treason they cannot help regarding with abhorrence, however disguised; and will resist, whoever may perpetrate or abet them. Their chosen weapon of resistance is the right of suffrage,—a weapon of equal power in every freeman's hand, and which is so tempered, as they trust, in the armory of patriotism, that neither the keen nor solid of freemasonry may resist its edge.

Fellow citizens, are we called to be anti-masons by the best feelings of our nature? Are our objects the highest that can effect the civil character? Are our means the most approved and indispensable? Unite with us,—not for our sakes,

but your own.—Aid us in working out the redemption of our country from freemasonry. We are misrepresented and calumniated, as the chief public means of defeating the cause we have espoused. Examine by whom, and inquire into their motives. Be not deceived. If individuals among us are in fault, through ignorance, or passion, or interest, or profligacy, refuse them your confidence. But do not, therefore, betray your rights, and those of your country; nor let those beguile you into their support, who prefer secrecy to publicity, and freemasonry to republicanism. We are for practical, peaceable, and most necessary reform,—not for the destruction, but the establishment of right. Freedom, in every beneficial sense, is the soul of anti-masonry.

Further revelations of the ceremonies and principles of freemasonry are not required; for these are perfectly exposed; and the exposition is so confirmed, as to be incapable of material modification. It will go down to all posterity among the undoubted records of imposture and guilt. But we cannot suppress our anxiety to commend our cause to the decided confidence, and active support, of all the nominal members of the fraternity. Among such, there are many, who have long possessed, and who still possess, our high esteem; and to whom we are attached, by the bonds of the most inseparable and holy brotherhood, those of a common nature, common wants, and a common destiny. We earnestly invite them to come out, with us, in defence of our common interests. Our course has been adopted after diligent inquiry into facts, and an honest comparison of freemasonry with the first principles of civil order; and we have no misgivings. We respectfully suggest to them similar inquiry and comparison. In proportion as men do this, we find our numbers increasing, and, knowing the inquisitive character of the people of the United States, it is scarcely more in our power, than it is in our wish, to exclude the anticipation of success. We know freemasonry cannot meet with their deliberate approval. When it was least suspected of evil, and highest in its harlequin attractions,—when that holiness to the Lord, which is inscribed upon its gaudy garniture, and that charity with which its dark chambers are labelled, had not been publicly detected as wholly counterfeit,—we know it was not a subject of their complacent regard. Shall the crimes with which it is now ineffaceably branded, and the pertinacity with which it justifies them, pass without their condemnation and rebuke? Shall that abuse of their confidence, which first brought their names into connexion with the mountebank retainers of the order, be an argument for sustaining the mountebanks, when their party coloured garments are seen dripping with the blood of innocence, and we perceive their power to strike away all the pledges of our common safety?

We know that the private opinions of such members concur with ours. We beseech them to concur with us in giving, to those opinions, a public and decided expression; for that will make them effectual to the only end we have at heart, the overthrow of freemasonry. We want not, and we expect not, the aid of the sinister, or the dissolute; of the slaves of office, of prejudice, of vice, or of faction. But we anxiously covet the association of all, who are willing, on all

occasions, and at all times, through evil report, and through good report, to contend for the great interests of truth, and justice, and freedom, and that security intended to be conferred, upon these interests, by our laws and constitutions. With such we are proud to labour, and, if need be, willing to suffer: for we shall not labour and suffer in vain. But we perceive, on all sides, the presages of our success; in the unspeakable importance of our cause; in the intelligence and self-respect of our fellow citizens; in the peaceable and just means, with which alone, we mean to promote it; in the favouring sympathies of the enlightened and wise of every name and clime; and in the undergoing, insuppressive, and inspiring hope, with which we may seek, for it, the protection of that Great Being, in whose hands are all the allotments of nations, and whose law is that of perfect liberty.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Henry Gassett.
Abner Phelps.
Amasa Walker.
Stephen Oliver.
Pliny Merrick.
Nathan Adams.
Alpheus Bigelow, Jr.
Nahum Hardy.
Joshua Longley.
Moses Thacher.
Joseph Morton.
Micah H. Ruggles.
Samuel B. Barlow.
Gardner Burbank.
Joseph Goffe.
Lovett Peters.
Nathan Lazell, Jr.

CONNECTICUT.

Nathaniel Terry.
Zalmon Storrs.
Calvin Barber.
John M. Holley.
Jonathan Nichols.
Elisha Stearns.
Henry Perkins.
Noble D. Strong.

NEW YORK.

Bates Cooke.
Henry Dana Ward.
Samuel St. John.
Frederick Whittlesey.
Francis Granger.
Henry W. Taylor.
Samuel M. Hopkins.
George W. Stanton.
Robert S. Rose.
Thomas Lawyer.
John Bogardus.
William H. Seward.
Elias Manchester.
Samuel N. Sweet.
John Williams.
Myron Holley.
Edward Bancroft.
Joseph Case.
Caleb Green.
John L. Curtenius.
Vincent Whitney.
John Ellis.
Alexander Sheldon.
Herbert A. Read.
John C. Morris.
William Williams.
Samuel P. Lyman.
W. H. Maynard.
George H. Boughton
Charles Starr.
David Bernard.
Lebbeus Armstrong.
Thomas C. Green.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Amos Ellmaker.
John Clarke.
James Patterson, Jr.
David Potts, Jr.
William Rutherford.
Daniel Rhoads.
Michael Fackenthall, Jr.
Ner Middleswarth.
Ebenezar Greenough.
George Walker.
John Kauffelt.
Thaddeus Stevens.
William Brown.
William W. Irwin.
William Miles.
Joseph Ritner.
Horatio G. Jones.
Peter Knepply.
William Line.
James Todd.
Charles Ogle.
Harmar Denny.
Samuel Davis.
Levis Passmore.
Nathaniel B. Boileau.
Alexander Plummer.
Samuel Leidy.
Samuel Parke.

VERMONT.

William Slade.
Augustine Clarke.
Josiah Rising.
Alvah Sabin.
Samuel C. Loveland.
Martin Flint.

RHODE ISLAND.

Walter Paine, Jr.
John Hall.

OHIO.

Robert Hanna.
Frederick Wadsworth.
Thomas M. Kelly.
Thomas Boyd.
Isaac Gillett.
Ebenezer Currier.
Daniel Gilbert.

NEW JERSEY.

James Vanderpool.
Ellison Conger.
G. P. M'Culloch.
John Alling.
David Schench.
Abner Morse.
Abraham Brittin.

MICHIGAN.

Samuel W. Dexter.

MARYLAND.

Ezra Slifer.

DELEWARE.

Caleb Kirk.

"MASONRY THE SAME, ALL OVER THE WORLD."

ANOTHER
MASONIC MURDER.

On Monday last, Mr. Samuel G. Anderton, of Boston, a Knight Templar, voluntarily appeared before a Notary Public and Justice of the Peace, in this city, and in presence of several members of the State Committee and other citizens assembled, made solemn oath to the following statement, disclosing a most *barbarous* MURDER, of which he was an eye witness, *in a* Royal Arch Chapter of Free Masons! Immediately on the receipt of this document, several members of the Investigating Committee in Boston, to whom he was less known, took measures more fully to inquire, and satisfy themselves as to the character of Mr. Anderton, and particularly as to such *facts*, *stated* by him, which might be known here. They found upon inquiry, a mass of evidence in support of his testimony, as,

1st. That the character of Mr. Samuel G. Anderton, *for* truth *and* veracity, *is and ever has been without a stain.*

2d. That Mr. Anderton is a man to be trusted, punctual and honest in his dealings, and that his neighbors, and all, who best know him, prefer sending their adventures by "Uncle Sam," (a familiar title by which he is known,) rather than by any one else.

3d. That he naturally possesses a great memory, a sound mind, and many other estimable qualifications. That all the events of his life, so far as they relate to Boston, Salem, Marblehead, and Charlestown, are found to be correct. His name is on the books at the Custom Houses, the different ships and vessels, *in which he sailed*, are well known to many of our merchants, his good character is attested by masters of vessels, &c.

4th. That a man from Belfast is now in this city, who was once a member of the "NEW BLUE, No. 272," and corroborates many other important facts, of which more hereafter.

5th. That Mr. Anderton said more than a year ago, *he saw something* in a Lodge room *once*, which induced him on going to sea, soon after, *to throw his apron and all his Masonic certificates* overboard. But that he could not be persuaded then to tell what it was.

6th. That the reason of Mr. Anderton's making these disclosures at this time, was the frequent conversations and disputes about the late mysterious death of Mr. ARTEMAS KENNEDY. He said, "*he could not* keep a secret any longer, which had been a burden to him for seventeen years. That the public ought to know the nature of the Masonic Institution, and that he was desirous of making oath to what he saw himself."

Should any person be disposed to say, that the *barbarity* of the transaction *is too bad to be believed*, let them remember that the same was said in the case of Capt. WILLIAM MORGAN, "*that high and honorable men could not be guilty of such cruelty, injustice, and murder.*" But it is proved that those men did do it. And could Morgan return, to tell the story of his sufferings, or should the heart of some one be softened, who witnessed, and he induced to describe all the particulars of the bloody tragedy at Niagara, it might exhibit a scene quite as appalling to the best sympathies of our nature, as the one here disclosed.

AFFIDAVIT.

I, SAMUEL G. ANDERTON, of the City of Boston, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of lawful age, do testify and say:

That I was told by my parents, that I was born in the town of Marblehead, on the 13th of February, 1780. My father's name was Thomas Anderton, of that place, a seafaring man; and my mother's maiden name was Mary Meaks. Their grave stones are now, in what is called, the old hill burying ground in Marblehead. At the same place are buried one sister, one brother, two wives and one child of mine. When a boy, I attended the common schools of Marblehead. Among the teachers, were Mrs. Curtis, Master Roundy, (who had but one arm,) and Master Bond. The Hon. Joseph Story, now one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, was some time one of my school fellows.

I was afterwards put apprentice to Mr. Samuel Newhall, to learn the trade of a cooper. But in consequence of his failing in business, I was sent to sea, a little before I was eighteen years of age.

My first voyage was in the brig George, Christopher Grant, master. We sailed from Boston, and took in a load of lumber at Penobscot River, for Martinico, but was taken by the French and carried to Point Peter, Gaudaloupe; put on board a prison-ship, confined about seven weeks; taken out to be sent to St. Thomas, but was taken on the passage and carried to Nevis, where I took passage in the boat to St. Kitts, and there entered as a seaman, to work my passage, on board the brig called the George, Capt. Tibbets, bound to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and soon after returned home.

From that time to the present, I have followed a seafaring life; have made many voyages, unnecessary to enumerate in detail. When in the fishing business, I have usually sailed from Marblehead, and when in the merchant service, *generally* from Boston. In both these places I am well known, and the instances are but few, where I have been engaged to commence a voyage from other ports, which I will here mention.

I made three voyages from Wiscasset, after the embargo was raised in 1809. The first, in the ship Mount Vernon, owned by Abiel Wood, Captain Stevens, master. I sailed as chief mate, with timber, bound to Liverpool, and returned

with salt. Next, in the ship Union, Captain McCowen. And next, in the ship Columbus, with Captain Stevens, I sailed as chief mate, loaded with timber, bound to Belfast, in Ireland. The timber was discharged opposite to Carrickfergus Castle, Whitehouse Roads. We were in port, I think, about seven weeks. While there, I became acquainted with several persons, who were Free Masons; and from their representations of Masonry, I was induced to offer myself a candidate to a Lodge, called the "NEW BLUE, No. 272." The first night I attended, I was an initiated an Entered Apprentice; passed to the degree of Fellow Craft, and raised to what they called the Sublime degree of Master Mason.

I attended the Lodge several evenings afterwards, and became acquainted with a number of Masons; among these was one by the name of WILLIAM MILLER. He was a miller by trade, a man of considerable intelligence, and fond of inquiring and talking about the liberties of my country. He invited me to call on him, which I did, sometimes at his mill, where he worked, and once took supper with him at his house. I likewise became some acquainted with a friend of his, another Mason, by the name of JAMES KENNEDY. We used to be in and out at the tavern, then kept by Christopher Greenlow, below the Lodge room, in the same building where the Masons met. The Lodge I think met in the third story. The building was situated on a wharf near the end of Lime-kiln Dock.

At Belfast, we took on board 135 passengers, and sailed for Perth Amboy, in New Jersey, where they were discharged. My next voyage was in the ship Frances Henrietta, owned in New York, Captain Joseph Skinner, Jr. master. I sailed as chief mate, bound to Lisbon, with a cargo of corn and flour, which was delivered to Sam Poio, (I am not sure this name is spelt right,) an agent for Wellington's army. We returned to New York with salt, which was afterwards delivered, as I was told, at Hudson. But I was discharged at New York on my own request, and returned to my family at Marblehead, with a view of moving to New York. But the war taking place soon after, in 1812, I sailed as first prize master, in the ship Catharine, armed as a letter of marque, 14 guns, owned by William Gray, Esq. on a cruise, Francis Burnham, master, was taken by the Calabria brig of 18 guns, carried to Halifax, and imprisoned in Melville Island prison. I was then releas-

ed on parole, and returned to Boston, in the ship Fawn, Capt. Thomas Harris, of Charlestown, and then went to my family at Marblehead.

My next cruise was on board the schooner Sword Fish, Captain Evans, of Salem, in the capacity of prize master, was captured 27 days out, by the Elephant, 74, and the Hermes, sloop of war; taken to Portsmouth, in England, three days after; put on board the St. Antonio prison ship some time; then sent to Chatham, and confined in the prison ship Glory. While here, I kept a little sutler's shop at some profit, and had money. The officer in command was a Mason, and as such, I had made myself known to him. One evening he ordered me ashore, and as I passed him, he put a guinea in my hand and said, "Anderton, do the best you can." I readily understood his meaning, thanked him, and made my escape. After some time, I found an opportunity to work my passage to Ireland, this was in the spring of 1813. I went to Belfast, called on my old acquaintances, and some of them spoke very highly in favor of the upper degrees of Masonry. This excited my curiosity; and I was induced, by the representations of the great advantage, as well as knowledge to be derived from them, to offer myself again as a candidate. I found that William Miller had become a Royal Arch; and I believe James Kennedy was a Knight Templar. I recollect that on the 4th of June, which was the King's birth day, I conversed with Miller on the subject. He told me, "the Masons had offered to make him a Knight Templar, free of expense, and that Kennedy had urged him very strongly to attend *that* evening, which he said, to please him, (Kennedy,) he had agreed to do." I thought he spoke rather coldly upon the subject, and said nothing in favor of the institution. However, as I had agreed to go, I went. The whole number of Masons there, of all degrees, was seventy-one or seventy-two. That night, I took the degrees of Arch, Royal Arch, and Knight Templar. The number of Knight Templars in the Encampment, was about a dozen. I have since heard of the degrees of Mark Master, Past Master, and Most Excellent Master. But I heard nothing said about such degrees there.

Soon after I was dubbed a Knight Templar, and during the same evening, I was told that a Mason would be there, who had violated his obligations, by saying that JACHIN and BOAZ *was a true Book*, and something else, they said, he had done

about that book, or told about Masonry, that I cannot distinctly recollect. They said he had broken his oaths; called him a damned perjured wretch; said that he had forfeited his life, and ought not to live any longer among men or masons, and so on; and appeared in great rage. The number of Masons then present in the Chapter, I should think, was from thirty-five to forty, who had taken the Royal Arch and Knight Templar degrees.

I should have been very glad to have cleared out and left the room, could I have been indulged that privilege. But was told, "*that is never allowed on such* OCCASIONS." We were ordered to cast lots to see who should officiate as executioners. The names of all present were put into an urn, and what were called blanks and prizes put into another urn. I have since had suspicions that some unfairness was used in this drawing; for it was so managed that the lot fell on three foreigners, that is, on one Swede, one Dane, and myself!! The Swede and Dane were both strong, athletic men, masters of vessels and strangers to me. I cannot say which was drawn first, next, or last, for I was struck with horror and astonishment that I cannot describe. My life has often been exposed to great peril and danger; I have been twice shipwrecked, and several times met the enemies of my country in bloody combat, amidst the roar of cannon and the groans of dying men. But I can truly say that I never felt as at that moment. Amidst all my other dangers, I felt that I was doing my duty; but this I considered would be murder in cool blood. I had found by the conversation, that the man who was there to suffer death, was the same William Miller, before mentioned. I told them I could not do it. I begged and intreated; told them I had as lief have my own throat cut as commit such an act. My feelings were so distressed, and I expressed myself in such a manner, that after some time, I was excused. The Swede and Dane, according to my best remembrance, did not object. Several others said, "they would help execute any one who broke his obligations; that every mason ought to help do it," or words to that effect.

They had a canvass cloth cap or bag to put over his head, and come down a little below the chin, rigged with small ropes, or strong cords, fixed in the lower part of it, so as to slip easily, that when the cap was on, and the cords drawn each way, right and left, the cap would be gathered tight under

his chin, so as to shut his mouth, and at the same time, draw so close round his neck and throat, as to strangle him.

It was now at the black hour of midnight. The executioners took their station a little to the left of the High Priest (or Grand Master, who presided.) Mr. Miller was then led into the room, somewhat in the condition that candidates usually are. He was hood-winked; his coat off, but so far as I recollect, he was not divested of his other garments. Mr. Miller was, no doubt, decoyed in by the promise of being made a Knight Templar *free of expense*, and under the mask of friendship; poor fellow! he little thought what was in preparation for him.

He was led along slowly from the west, up near his executioners, when some one said, "Who comes there! who comes there!!" The answer was bawled out, as they seized him, "a damned traitor, who has broken his masonic obligations." With that he exclaimed, "O, my God! are you going to murder me! O, my wife! my children!!" The agony, the strong struggle, and the half smothered utterance of these words, and the final shriek, as the cap went over his head and face, pierced me to the heart, and was enough, as I should think, to soften the hearts of savages, if they had not taken masonic oaths. Those horrid sounds of the tortured victim seem still to ring in mine ears. No sooner was the murderous cap down over his face, and his whole head enveloped, than, at the same instant, the Swede and Dane appeared to spring with all their might and strength, drawing each, in opposite directions, by the ropes or cords around his neck. Poor Miller, after the most frantic struggles, like a person in a fit, then settled down to the floor in the most dreadful convulsions. Other masons fell on him, while the Swede and Dane, bracing their feet against his body, still pulled by the cords; there, while struggling on the floor, they cut his throat! and then his left side and breast open, so as to show his heart!! *Some*, very few masons present, seemed by their looks, to express some sympathy and compassion; while the rest, using the most profane, revengeful language, with their fists clenched, grinned with horrid approbation.

The body was then carried down stairs, while several masons kept watch, for fear of detection, and thrown over into Lime-kiln Dock! I got away from this scene of Masonic murder, as soon as possible, with the most awful impressions.

Before I left Belfast, I heard by common report, that the body was taken up the next day, and that a coroner's inquest decided that *WILLIAM MILLER was murdered by persons unknown;* or something to that effect.

I left Belfast in a Russian ship, called the Ofien, in ballast, for New Bedford. The next day after we got to sea, I threw my apron and masonic papers overboard. Arrived in port, and returned to my family at Marblehead. I next joined the Constitution, under Commodore Stuart; was in the United States service until September after the peace, in 1815. I moved to Boston soon after, and have followed my business to this time; and further I say not.

SAMUEL G. ANDERTON.

Boston, March 15, 1830.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

SUFFOLK, SS.

City of Boston. On this 15th day of March, 1830, personally appeared before me, JOHN W. QUINCY, a Notary Public, and Justice of the Peace, duly commissioned and sworn, and dwelling in Boston, the above named SAMUEL G. ANDERTON, and after being duly cautioned and sworn, made oath that the above declaration by him subscribed, is true. In testimony whereof, I, the said Notary Public, have hereunto set my hand, and affixed my seal of Office, on the day aforesaid.

[*L. S.*]

JOHN W. QUINCY,
Notary Public and Justice of Peace.

VINDICATION

OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON

FROM THE STIGMA OF ADHERENCE TO

SECRET SOCIETIES,

BY

JOSEPH RITNER,

GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,

COMMUNICATED

BY

REQUEST OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, TO THAT BODY,
ON THE 8TH OF MARCH, 1837,

WITH

THE PROCEEDINGS WHICH TOOK PLACE
ON ITS RECEPTION.

TOGETHER WITH

A LETTER TO DANIEL WEBSTER,

AND HIS

REPLY.

Boston:
PRINTED BY EZRA LINCOLN.

1841.

INTRODUCTION.

The annexed pamphlet by Ex-Governor Ritner of Pennsylvania is, strange as the fact may appear, a vindication of the character of *the father of his country* against the charge of Freemasonry! That Washington was an initiate we do not doubt, as many other respectable individuals have been, among whom may be numbered a Marshall, a Rush, a Wirt and others; for it has been the policy of the detestable, murderous society to seduce into their ranks the most respectable members of society and then to bind them to the most shocking, anti-christian oaths and under the still more shocking penalties of death, in various horrid forms, to keep the secrets of the institution, which chiefly consists, like a band of pirates and robbers, of the signs by which they may be known to each other! It is hardly necessary to add that of 100 initiates 99 though bound by their oaths to silence, have little more to do with the institution, although claimed as a member and "brother." Such were "brother Washington," "brother Judge Marshall" and a great number of others, who have been hypocritically brought within the pale of Freemasonry." But Washington did not die without leaving to his country his warning voice against "*all obstructions to the execution of the laws*, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character. He might, we repeat, have been an initiate, but no freemason, as the reader of the annexed pamphlet will see. That Freemasonry "obstructed the execution of the Laws" in the trial of Masonic culprits in the western counties of New York state by false oaths and every other possible way, there is the most unequivocal evidence. In a word, says the late Myron Holley, speaking of Freemasonry, "more detestable principles cannot be imagined; they excite to crime and were intended for *shelter and protection* of practical iniquity!" This was literally a truth, they truly afforded *shelter and protection* to the murderers of William Morgan! But if as the memorable wretches tell you, that Freemasonry is a virtuous society it is asked why females or ladies are ex-

cluded,—why insulted? Who can read the following oath of a Master Mason, having a mother, wife, or sisters without the height of indignation. "Furthermore" (that is in addition to fifteen other oaths) "do I promise and swear, that I will not be at the initiating, passing or raising of an old man in dotage, a young man in non-age, an atheist, irreligious libertine, madman, hermaphrodite, *woman* or a fool." And again, "furthermore do I promise and swear that I will not violate the chastity of a Master Mason's wife, mother, sister or daughter, nor suffer it to be done by others, if in my power to prevent it, *I knowing them to be such*," thus giving a Master Mason free access to every other woman in society.—Such is freemasonry and but a small part of that diabolical institution. Washington saw not only the folly but the wickedness of such oaths and the consequence that might follow from an institution of such a character.—And now (1841) would it be believed an effort is making by despicable or thoughtless individuals to revive it! Let us then, one and all, frown on the base attempt; let the warning voice of the father of his country be listened to and obeyed; let not a vestige remain of the accursed institution. In a more especial manner, let that degrading and disgraceful *silver plate*, which now lies under the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument,* be removed and the place supplied by some *Patriotic Inscription.*

* It is one of the Masonic deceptions in permitting the public to believe that the corner stone was laid by La Fayette, whereas he was only a spectator. It is engraven on the plate thus "On the 17th day of June, 1825, at the request of the Bunker Hill Monument Association the Most Worshipful John Abbott, Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, did in presence of General La Fayette lay this corner stone of a monument," &c. A falsehood like this is engraved on the plate deposited under the corner stone of the Masonic Temple in Boston. It is declared thereon that the Governor of the Commonwealth and the Mayor of the city were present at the laying of it. This being doubted an Antimason addressed a line to each of them, inquiring as to the truth of the statement. Levi Lincoln, the Governor and Harrison Gray Otis, the Mayor, both answered that they were not present nor invited to be present. The former said also that he knew nothing about the ceremony, until he saw the account of it in a newspaper at Worcester, the place of his residence.

VINDICATION

OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Extract from the Journal of the House of Representatives—vol. 1, page 276.

JANUARY 20, 1837.—"The Speaker laid before the House a memorial from sundry citizens of Union county, complaining of certain inferences in relation to the masonic and other secret societies, drawn by the Governor in his annual message to the Legislature, from the writings of Washington, and praying for the appointment of a committee to wait upon the Governor, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting how far General Washington's Farewell Address, and other writings, sustained the said inferences."

Which was read, as follows:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly met, we, the undersigned, citizens of Pennsylvania, beg leave most respectfully to represent:—

That the Governor of Pennsylvania, in his annual message to both branches of the Legislature, hath been wont to say on the subject of Freemasonry, it was a spirit of lawless combination, unknown to our open and equal institutions and opposed to the genius of republicanism, *against which the Father of his country sent forth his last and most solemn warning.* The Governor here has reference to General Washington's Farewell Address, when he is made to say, "*Beware of Secret Societies.*" The foregoing inference is slandering the ashes of the patriotic and forever beloved dead—it is defamatory to the lips of that chaste and holy man, whose whole life, with a single eye, was devoted to his country's good. Well may we say, he was a compound of righteousness, fitted by God as the special organ of liberty,

and patron of virtue, and his name now fills the whole space in the hearts of American gratitude, and bound are we by every tie of honor to preserve unsullied the name of that apostle of Liberty. His Farewell Address to the American people, contains not a single word from which even an inference of the kind can be drawn, nor, can from any of his political writings. In his letter to W. Jay, he speaks against the democratic societies then forming in our country, in behalf of the Revolutionists of France, in which Washington refused to take a part, until they had established their independence. He expressly says, " democratic societies then forming, which have for their object the control of government." Who will now presume to say that Freemasonry then was known by the name of democratic societies, and they were the object of Washington's last and solemn warning It is well remembered by thousands yet alive, in Pennsylvania, that Liberty Poles were raised in almost every village in our state, with the motto of Liberty floating high in the air, under which was inscribed, " France aided us with money and her bravest men —we will stand by her—Jay's treaty with England shall not be ratified—Washington is in error—down with the excise and stamp acts." These are the societies to which Washington had reference, and of which he expressed his fears.

Whereas, General Washington's acts, to this day, are regarded as authority, both in religion and politics, and aught calculated to detract from the just merits of this great and good man, should not be permitted to remain in doubt, by friends to our republic; more especially so, as his opinions have always had a moral influence over our elections, consequently, should alone be founded in what he actually said, word for word. As the Governor has again brought this question before the Legislature, and its importance can be by none doubted, we pray the Legislature to appoint a committee to wait on His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania, and solicit from him the source of information from which he derived his authority, as quoted in his late message to this House, as to the Father of our Country's last and solemn warning against that " spirit of lawless combination unknown in our open and equal institutions, and opposed to the genius of republicanism," and report the same, with such references to General Washington's Farewell Address, and other writings, as may place his words or allusions to Freemasonry

beyond the reach of doubt or cavil; and your petitioners will, as in duty bound, pray.

C. M. STRAUB,
JOHN SNYDER,
H. C. EYER.

When a motion was made by Mr. FORD, that the said memorial be referred to a select committee. Which was agreed to.

Whereupon, Messrs. Ford, Dimmick of Pike, Stark, Garretson and English, were appointed the committee.

A motion was then made by Mr. SPACKMAN, that the said committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

The motion being under consideration, a motion was made by Mr. REED, of Philadelphia, to postpone the further consideration of the same for the present. Which was agreed to.

MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1837.—Mr. FORD, from the committee to whom was referred a memorial from citizens of Union county, complaining of certain inferences in relation to the masonic and other secret societies, drawn by the Governor in his annual message, from the writings of Washington, made a report, No. 219, which was laid on the table.

Mr. CURTIS called for the reading of the said report; when a motion was made by Mr. HOPKINS, that the reading of the report be postponed until this afternoon. Which was agreed to.

SAME DAY.—Agreeably to order, the report in relation to inferences drawn by the Governor, in his late message, from the writings of General Washington, was read.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives, in conformity with the prayer of sundry citizens of Pennsylvania, complaining of certain inferences in relation to the Masonic and other secret societies, drawn by the Governor in his annual message to the Legislature, from the

writings of Washington, and praying for the appointment of a committee to wait upon His Excellency, for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting how far General Washington's Farewell Address, and other writings, sustain the same references

REPORT:

That on the day succeeding their appointment, they addressed a letter to His Excellency the Governor, a copy of which is herewith subjoined, marked A, to which the answer, marked B, which is also subjoined, was shortly after returned. In conformity with the intimation therein contained, "that he would embrace the earliest occasion of leisure from other duties, to place the subject before them in the light which its importance seemed to him to demand," the Governor, a few days since, transmitted to your committee the evidences of his authority in using the language complained of in his late message, in the communication marked C, hereunto annexed, which, together with this report, is respectfully submitted to the consideration of the House, without further comment.

A.

REPRESENTATIVE CHAMBER,
Harrisburg, January 21, 1837.

DEAR SIR:

Yesterday morning the Speaker presented a memorial to the House of Representatives, signed by a few citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the appointment of a committee on the part of that body, "to wait on His Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania, and solicit from him the source of information from which he derived his authority, as quoted in his late message to the House, as to the Father of his Country's last and solemn warning against 'that spirit of lawless combination unknown to our open and equal institutions, and opposed to the genius of republicanism,' and report the same, with such references to General Washington's Farewell Address, and other writings, as may place his words or allusions to Freemasonry beyond the reach of doubt or cavil."

In compliance with the prayer of the petitioners, the undersigned were appointed a committee for the purpose expressed in the said memorial, and in the performance of the duty thus assigned them, they herewith submit to your Excellency the above extract from the same, as presented to the House. In

it you will find embodied all that for which the memorialists most earnestly pray, and which we most respectfully submit to your Excellency's consideration, for such action as you may think proper to take upon the subject.

With the highest respect, we are, Sir,
Your most ob't servants,

GEORGE FORD, Jr.
WILLIAM ENGLISH,
WILLIAM GARRETSON,
HENRY STARK,
O. S. DIMMICK.

His Excellency JOSEPH RITNER,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

B.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Harrisburg, January 23, 1837.

GENTLEMEN:

I this day received your letter of the 21st instant, informing me that you have been appointed a committee on behalf of the House of Representatives, to obtain from me the authority on which, in my annual message to the Legislature, I asserted that General Washington had sent forth his last and most solemn warning against "that spirit of lawless combination unknown to our open and equal institutions, and opposed to the genius of republicanism," which has acquired such influence in our days.

It will afford me much pleasure to comply with the request of the House of Representatives, thus made, through their committee. I shall embrace the earliest occasion of leisure from other duties to place the subject before them in the light which its importance seems to me to demand.

I am, Gentlemen,
Very respectfully,
Your fellow-citizen,
JOS. RITNER.

Messrs. GEORGE FORD, JR.
WILLIAM ENGLISH,
WILLIAM GARRETSON,
HENRY STARK,
O. S. DIMMICK.

C.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Harrisburg, March 8, 1837.

GENTLEMEN:

The annual Message to the Legislature, of December 6th, 1836, declares:—

That the chief evil of the times is "that spirit of lawless combination unknown to our open and equal institutions, and opposed to the genius of republicanism, against which the Father of his Country sent forth his last and most solemn warning."

That "what was comparatively restricted and harmless in his day, has since assumed the dangerous character of regularly organized, oath bound, secret working, wide spread and powerful societies."

And that "of these, some bearing more and some less of the features just enumerated, the Society of Freemasonry is the fruitful mother."

These opinions and statements of the message, have occasioned your appointment as a Committee by the House of Representatives, "to wait on the Governor of Pennsylvania, to solicit from him the source of information from which he derived his authority as quoted in his last message to the House, as to the Father of our Country's last and solemn warning against 'that spirit of lawless combination, unknown to our open and equal institutions, and opposed to the genius of republicanism,'—and report the same with such references to General Washington's Farewell Address and other writings, as may place his words or allusions to Freemasonry beyond the reach of doubt or cavil."

No occurrence of my life ever afforded me greater pleasure than that of being called upon officially, to vindicate the memory of Washington from the stigma of adherence to secret combinations.

His name is so deservedly dear, and his example so powerful among the people of this nation, that the wide trumpeted misfortune of his unthinking youth, in becoming a Freemason, has tended more to fasten upon us the evils of that society than all the jealous spirit of equality—the aroused power of the press—or the cry from the ground of spilled blood, has hitherto been sufficient to overcome. Even the practical renunciation of the last thirty-one years of his life, and his latest and most solemn precepts on the subject of lawless combinations, have failed to atone for his early indiscretion, or to remove the danger; and with Franklin, Lafayette and many others, he, the chosen one of freedom—the foe of kings and the leader of the armies of Independence, is claimed to have passed down to the grave, the obedient servant of a skulking monarchy, and the sworn thrall of principles at war with the open practices of his whole glorious life.

If it be true as the lamented Colden, (himself one of the initiated,) declared, that *many a mason became a great man, but no great man ever became a mason,* how nearly does it concern the youth of our country, from among whom their own merits must elect her future great men, to pause and reflect before they commit their present standing and future reputation, to the keeping of a society, which, for its own cold hearted and selfish purposes could immolate even the fame of Washington at the shrine of its abominations. From the same flowers that bestow honey on the bee, and shed fragrance on the air, it is said the wasp extracts poison. Thus the name of Washington, which has become the watchword of liberty and of national independence over the world, is degraded into the office of a masonic gull-trap at home.

Each votary of the order, when pressed by the weight of reason, so easily brought to bear against him by the weakest advocate of democratic equality, answers every objection, by repeating the name of "GRAND MASTER WASHINGTON."

Newspaper editors seem to have in stereotype, as a standing answer to all arguments, and a spell to charm down all charges against the craft, the names of *Washington, Franklin* and *Lafayette.*

Masonic orators, from the declaimer of a bar room meeting, to the masonic occupant of the sacred desk, and the legislative seat, alike conclude their discourses with the names of *Washington,* and the other heroes and sages of the Revolution.

Not only do masons thus in general terms, claim the authority of his name, but they even designate with particularity, the masonic offices he held—the lodges over which he presided, and the continuance and degree of his devotion to the order; nay, some of them go so far as to shew the very "attire which he often wore as a mason," and the *mallet* which he used as Master.

The Hon. Timothy Bigelow of Massachusetts, in an oration delivered at the funeral obsequies solemnized in honor of General Washington's memory, by the Grand Lodge of that State, on the 11th of February, 1800, made use of the following language:—"He (Washington) cultivated our art with *sedulous attention,* and never lost an opportunity of advancing the interests or promoting the honor of the craft."—"The information received from our brethren who had the happiness of being members of *the lodge over which he presided many years,* and of which *he died the Master,* furnish abundant proof of his *persevering zeal* for the prosperity of the institution. Constant and punctual in his attendance, scrupulous in his observance of the regulations of the Lodge, and solicitous at all times to communicate light and instruction, he discharged the duties of the chair with uncommon dignity and intelligence in all the mysteries of our art. We see before us the *very attire which he often wore as a mason.*"

The American edition of Preston's Masonry, asserts that "the society of Freemasons, in America, continued to flourish

under the auspices of General Washington, who continued his patronage to the Lodges *until his death.*"

Masonry has published a letter from him to King David's Lodge of Newport, R. I. without date, but said to be written in August, 1790, in which he is made to say, "I shall always be happy to advance the interests of the society, and to be considered by them as a deserving brother."

Four other letters, purporting to be from him, have also been published by masons, all without dates; one to the Grand Lodge of Charlestown, two to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, and one to the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, all lauding the institution.

Andrew Jackson, late President of the United States, when invited in March, 1830, by a body of masons, to join in a masonic pilgrimage to the tomb of the Father of his Country, thus replied: "The memory of that *illustrious Grand Master*, [Washington,] cannot receive a more appropriate honor than that which religion and masonry pay it, when they send their votaries to his tomb, fresh from the performance of acts which THEY consecrate."

General Tallmadge, of New York, asserted in a letter published in the winter of 1831–2, "that Washington had often presided in Poughkeepsie Lodge."

Having thus stated both the general and particular claims of masonry upon the name and fame of Washington, I shall proceed to disprove them.

As to Washington's early masonry, the following incident will be sufficient:

In 1830, the Rev. Ezra Styles Ely, D. D. editor of a religious newspaper, called the Philadelphian, was charged in some of the prints of the day, with being a mason. In an editorial article on the subject, contained in the number of that paper dated July 23, 1830, he relates the following important anecdote:

"In reply to all this, I would assert, that I never was a mason, and never expect to be. Hitherto I have neither advocated nor opposed masonry, unless it be in the relation of a conversation which passed between General Washington and Governor Jonathan Trumbull, the second, which the latter more than once repeated to my father. The latter, when aid-de-camp to the former, asked him if he would advise him to become a mason."—General Washington replied, "that masonry was a benevolent institution, which might be employed for the *best or worst* of purposes; but that for the most part it was merely *child's play*, and he could *not give him any advice on the subject.*"

On the question of his having been the Master or Grand Master of a Lodge, the following proofs will not be disputed. The first document is an extract from the records of King David's Lodge, in Newport, R. I. the authenticity of which has been thus established:

An action of trover was brought by the officers of St. John's Lodge, the successor of King David's Lodge, to recover those records from Dr. Benjamin Case, who claimed to be Master of the Lodge, in the progress of which they were proved to be the original records, and Dr. Case was ordered to restore them to St. John's Lodge, or pay $300 damages. The money was paid, and the records retained for the good of the country. This is the extract:

"Regular Lodge night, held at the house of Mr. James Tew, Wednesday evening, the 7th February, 1781—5781."

"A motion was made, that as our worthy brother, His Excellency General Washington, was daily expected amongst us, a committee should be appointed to prepare an address, on behalf of the Lodge, to present to him. Voted that the Right Worshipful Master, together with brother Seixas, Peleg Clark, John Handy, and Robert Eliott, be a committee for that purpose, and that they present the same to this Lodge, at their next meeting, for their approbation."

"At a Lodge, held by request of the Right Worshipful Master, February 14th, 1781—5781."

"The committee appointed to draft an address to our worthy Brother, His Excellency General Washington, report, *that on enquiry they find General Washington not to be Grand Master of North America, as was supposed, nor even Master of any particular Lodge.* They are therefore of opinion, that this Lodge would not choose to address him as a private brother,—*at the same time, think it would not be agreeable to our worthy brother to be addressed as SUCH.*"

"Voted that the report of the committee be received, and that the address be entirely laid aside for the present."

The other document is a reply by Washington, to a letter he had received from the Rev. G. W. Snyder, of Fredericktown, Maryland, on the danger to be apprehended from the spread of Illuminism and Jacobinism in this country. The letter, in which was the following passage, "upon serious reflection, I was led to think that it might be within your power to prevent the horrid plan from corrupting the brethren of the English Lodges *over which you preside,*" was accompanied with a copy of "Robinson's proofs of a Conspiracy" for the General's use.

"Mount Vernon, 25th September, 1798.

"The Rev. Mr. Snyder,

"*Sir,*—Many apologies are due to you for my not acknowledging the receipt of your obliging favor of the 22d ult. and for not thanking you, at an earlier period, for the book you had the goodness to send me.

"I have heard much of the nefarious and dangerous plan and doctrines of the Illuminati, but never saw the book until you were pleased to send it to me. The same causes which have prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your letter, have prevented my reading the book hitherto; namely, the multiplicity of matters which pressed upon me before, and the debilitated state in which I was left, after a severe fever had been removed, and which allows me to add little more now than thanks for your kind wishes and favorable sentiments,

except *to correct an error you have run into, of my presiding over the English Lodges in this country. The fact is I preside over none, nor have I been in one more than once or twice within the last thirty years.* I believe, notwithstanding, that none of the Lodges in this country are contaminated with the principles ascribed to the society of the Illuminati.

"With respect, I am, Sir,

"Your ob't humble servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

On the 17th of October, in the same year, Mr. Snyder wrote a second letter to Washington, and received a reply, dated October 24th, pretty much in the same terms.

The authenticity of the correspondence is thus proved:

"BOSTON, November 22, 1832.

"I hereby certify, that I have compared a letter from the Rev. G. W. Snyder to General Washington, dated August 22d, 1798, and two letters from General Washington to Mr. Snyder, dated September 25th, and October 24th, of the same year, as printed in the "Proceedings of the third Antimasonic State Convention," with the recorded copies in General Washington's Letter Books, obtained by me at Mount Vernon, and I find them printed exactly as there recorded, except Mr. Snyder's letter, in which the word "secret" is omitted in one place, and the words "on this terrene spot" in another. General Washington's letters to Mr. Snyder are exactly printed throughout.

"JARED SPARKS."

With respect to the letter said to have been written by him to King David's Lodge in 1798, and to the four others, the Grand Lodges of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and which are relied on to establish his devotion to masonry till his death, it may be remarked:

1st. That three of them, viz: that to King David's Lodge, and the two to the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, are *without date;* a circumstance wholly unprecedented in the whole correspondence of the writer, who above all other men, was noted for attention to method and form in his writings.

2d. That though General Washington caused to be carefully copied in books kept for that purpose, all his letters on every subject, no trace whatever of any of the five letters under consideration, nor any letters to any other Lodge or Masonic body whatever, are to be found among the records of his correspondence.

3d. That the originals of none of them have been seen out of the Lodge in open day, though the officers of at least the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, have been publicly called on to produce and submit them to the examination of Jared Sparks, Esq. who, from his connexion with the Washington correspondence, is supposed to be best qualified to ascertain their authenticity.

The following letter from Mr. Sparks to the chairman of the committee of citizens of Massachusetts, who had called on the Grand Lodge to submit the letters to his inspection, is decisive on the two last of these points.

"Boston, February 18, 1833.

"*Sir*,—I received this morning your letter of the 15th instant, in which you inquire:

"*Whether I have yet seen or had in my possession any original letter or letters, in the hand writing of General Washington, addressed to any body of men denominating themselves Freemasons.*

"In reply, I can only state that I have *seen no letters from General Washington of the kind described* in yours, nor received any communication on the subject, either verbal or written.

"I am, Sir,
"Very respectfully,
"Your ob't servant,
"JARED SPARKS."

If corroboration were required, it is furnished by the following letter from Chief Justice Marshall, in reply to one from citizens of Massachusetts, inquiring of him, whether as biographer of Washington, he knew of the existence of any

authentic originals or copies of letters addressed by Washington to masonic bodies. The same persons also inquired whether the Chief Justice had declared the institution of masonry to be "a jewel of the utmost value," &c. &c.

"RICHMOND, October 18, 1833.

"*Sir*,—Your letter of the 11th, transmitting a resolution of the Antimasonic Convention of the State of Massachusetts, passed the 13th of last September, has just reached me. The flattering terms in which that resolution is expressed, claim and receive my grateful acknowledgments.

"The circumstances represented as attending the case of Morgan were heard with universal detestation, but produced no other excitement in this part of the United States, than is created by crimes of uncommon atrocity. Their operation on masonry, whatever it might be, was silent, rather arresting its progress and directing attention from the society, than inducing any open, direct attack upon it. The agitations which convulse the North, did not pass the Potomac. Consequently, an individual so much withdrawn from the world as myself, entering so little into the party conflicts of the day, could feel no motive, certainly I felt no inclination, to volunteer in a distant conflict, in which the wounds that might be received, would not be soothed by the consoling reflection that he suffered in the performance of a necessary duty. I never did utter the words ascribed to me, nor any other words importing the sentiment they convey. I never did say "*Freemasonry is a jewel of the utmost value, that the pure in heart and life can only appreciate it fully, and that in a free government it must, it will be sustained and protected.*" The fact mentioned in the resolution, that I have been in a Lodge *but once*, so far as I can recollect, *for nearly forty years*, is evidence that I have no disposition to volunteer in this controversy, as the zealous partizan, which this language would indicate. In fact I have sought to abstain from it. Although I attach no importance to the opinions I may entertain respecting masonry, yet I ought not to refuse on application, to disavow any expressions which may be ascribed to me, that I never used. I have said that I always understood the oaths taken by a mason, as being subordinate to his obligations as a citizen to the laws, but have never affirmed that there was any positive good or ill in the institution itself.

The resolution also inquires "whether, as the friend and biographer of Washington, I have in my possession or recollection, any knowledge of any acts of General Washington, or any documents written by him to masonic bodies, approving of masonry."

"The papers of General Washington were returned many years past, to my lamented friend his nephew, and are now, I believe, in the possession of Mr. Sparks. *I do not recollect ever to have heard him utter a syllable on the subject.* Such a document, however, not being of a character to make any impression at the time, may have passed my memory.

"With great respect,

"I am, Sir,

"Your ob't servant,

"J. MARSHALL."

To JOHN BAILEY, Esq.

These are the proofs of Washington's views in relation to masonry, which can be judicially established, if the House of Representatives raise a committee authorized and disposed to make the investigation; if the committee be vested with power to send for persons and papers; and if they be sustained by the House in the exercise of the legitimate authorities requisite to a legislative investigation. The conclusion to which these proofs lead are:

1. That in 1768, General Washington had ceased regular attendance at the Lodge. This is proved by his letter to Mr. Snyder.

2. That so far back as about the year 1780, he had become convinced, at least of the inutility of Freemasonry, and called it "child's play." This is established by his reply to Governor Trumbull.

3. That on the 25th of September, 1798, (one year and four months before his death,) his opinions on the subject of Freemasonry remained unchanged from what they were thirty years before when he was only thirty-six years old. This is established by his letter to Mr. Snyder.

4. That up to February, 1781, as appears by the records

of King David's Lodge, and up to the 25th September, 1798, as appears by his letter to Mr. Snyder, be had not been "Grand Master of North America, nor even Master of any particular Lodge."

5. That in 1781, as appears by the same record of King David's Lodge, it was not agreeable to him to be addressed *even as a private mason.*

6. That all the letters said to be written by Washington to Lodges are spurious. This is rendered nearly certain: *First*, by the non-production of the originals: *Second*, by the absence of copies among the records of his letters: *Third*, by their want of dates: *Fourth*, by the fact that his intimate friend and biographer, Chief Justice Marshall, (himself a mason in his youth,) says in his letter just given, that *he never heard Washington utter a syllable on the subject*—a matter nearly impossible, if Washington had for years been engaged in writing laudatory letters to the Grand Lodges of South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

But placing all these proofs out of view, and trying the claims of masonry upon him, merely by his general conduct and character, can it be imagined that the *republican* Washington, while engaged in the perilous contest of seven years, to establish in America a republican government, and secure the equal rights of the people against the nobility and monarchy of Great Britain, could favor a body of sworn devotees of aristocracy, whose leaders assumed to themselves and promulged their right to the titles of "EXCELLENT GRAND KING —MOST EXCELLENT GENERAL GRAND HIGH PRIEST— KNIGHT OF REDEMPTION—KNIGHT OF CHRIST—KNIGHT OF THE MOTHER OF CHRIST—KNIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST— KING OF HEAVEN—*Most powerful Sovereign Grand Commander and Sovereign Grand Imperator General* of the thirty-third degree!" and the like profane, pompous and ridiculous titles, at the mention of which the imperial titles assumed by Napoleon and Iturbide, sink into insignificance?

Can it be imagined that the *virtuous* Washington, could cherish a society whose members, in some of its degrees, take oaths to keep each others secrets, "*murder and treason not excepted;*" and bind themselves by horrid imprecations, to extricate each other from difficulties, "whether they be *right or wrong?*"

Can it be imagined that the *patriotic* Washington, could countenance a combination, whose book of constitutions lays down the maxim, that although a brother, (one of the band,) be a *rebel* against the State, yet "if convicted of *no other crime*, this *cannot expel* him from the Lodge, and his relation to it remains *indefeasible?*"

Can it be imagined that the *religious* Washington, could foster an order of men who, at their midnight initiation of members of the *arch* Royal Degree, personate the great Jehovah in the awful scene of the Burning Bush; and who, in another degree, mock the most sacred rite of Christianity, by drinking wine from a human skull?

Would the belief that the *republican, virtuous, patriotic* and *religious* Washington, could cultivate or cherish such a society, be less sacriligious to his memory, than it would be shocking to the world, to inflict at this time on his sacred remains, some of the penalties of masonry, on those who renounce the order—to tear his revered body from Mount Vernon, "to become a prey to wild beasts of the field, and vultures of the air, or bury it in the rough sands of the sea, a cable-tow's length from the shore, at low water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours"—or lock it up for seven days in an American fortress, under the American flag, and then plunge it at midnight into the torrent of the Niagara?

When Washington was a boy and a young man, he acted as youths usually do; fond of novelty and induced by curiosity.—But to suppose that in his maturer years, his feelings

or his judgement were tickled and caught by the baby clothes of Masonry, its childish mummeries, and harlequin exhibitions, would be any thing else than a manifestation of respect and reverence for his character and memory.

He became a mason when young, and was ignorant of the nature and tendency of the order till after he had taken the oath to secrecy and fidelity forever. At a later period of life, when engaged in the arduous struggle for American liberty, experience, reflection and observation, manifested to him the full character of Masonry. But if he had then rashly and publicly renounced and denounced a society with whom defamation is a system, and vengeance is a sworn duty, his reputation, and perhaps his life, would have been the forfeit. That single event might have caused the thirteen American provinces to remain bound for years at the footstool of the monarch of Britain.

Having thus shown from Masonic records; from his own writings; from the recollections of his contemporaries; from the knowledge of his biographers; and from his whole life and character, the nature of his feelings towards Freemasonry, and also the probable reason why he did not, at an early day, *denounce* the society, as well as withdraw from it, the question may fairly be asked: Did he take no means to guard his country from the evils of such combinations? He did. He who never shrunk from danger when its encounter could serve his fellow citizens, took the most effectual means, and embraced the most solemn occasion, to place his testimony against them on lasting record. In his Farewell Address, of September, 1796, we find these warnings, which cannot be mistaken.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe, the regular deliberations and actions of the constituted authori-

ties, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of the party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests."

"However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion."

It will be perceived that Washington here makes no express mention of Freemasonry. It would have been undignified in him to have alluded by name to any particular society; especially to one whose bloated existence was even then marked with its own destruction, although it could count back to a bar-room birth in an obscure tavern of London, in the year 1717, and whose only chance of immortality would be such a mention by him, as loathsome insects are sometimes found preserved in the purest amber. No. His last testament to his country, which will endure as long as liberty shall be cherished among men, was not to be marked with the ephemeral name of a society which forms only one of the temporary excrescences of the time. Neither his address to America was to be thus disgraced, nor masonry thus honored. In that address his object was to deal with general and immutable truths, and the fundamental principles of our government.

His remarks on the subject of combinations and associations, are therefore applicable to every description of them, past, present and to come, whether they be sworn or unsworn, foreign or domestic, secret or open.

Upon a deliberate consideration of all the facts and circumstances which have been detailed and referred to, I believe that no impartial and unprejudiced mind will doubt but that FREEMASONRY, with all other combinations calculated to "control, counteract or awe, the regular deliberations of the constituted authorities," was denounced, and was intended to be denounced by Washington in his Farewell Address to the people of the United States.

Masonry, with the hope of sheltering itself from exposure, and averting the certain destruction that awaits it from the righteous sentence of the American people, points unceasingly to the name of the illustrious men who may once have belonged to the order, and for ten years has been ringing the change on the names of Washington, Franklin and Lafayette. The views of Washington can be judged by his actions and language just exhibited. Franklin and Lafayette have left behind them scarcely less clear and unequivocal evidence of their disapprobation of masonry.

When a number of masons and others, soon after the revolutionary war, endeavored to establish an order of nobility in this country, under the name of the Cincinnati, with the specious guise of preserving the memory of the deeds of heroism to which that glorious time gave birth, the project was crushed almost in its origin, and the whole scheme rendered supremely ridiculous, in the eyes of American people, by the wit, the ridicule, and the argument of Franklin and Jefferson —those apostles of liberty and democracy. And when Franklin was consulted by a relation on the propriety of his becoming a mason, the sage replied with his characteristic humor and candor, "one fool in a family is enough." To which

may be added the remarkable fact, that in all his writings, particularly in his memoirs of his own life, not a single mention is made of his connexion with the craft. Every one who has read his life, must remember with what exactness every occurrence of his varied history is related. Why then is it that no notice is taken of his masonic membership? The reply is prompt. He did not wish posterity to be informed of the fact. Had he deemed it an honor, or the society even harmless in its effects, the case would have been different.*

When the justly popular Lafayette was in this country in 1824 and '5, masonry, gratified at the circumstance of his having become a mason in his youth, dragged him, in every town he visited, to halls and garrets wherever a Lodge could be assembled. Yet the contempt in which he held masonry, and the disgust he felt at the desire of its devotees, to shew off their robes and jewelry at the expense of his comfort and convenience, were not concealed. They are depicted in the following passage from that very candid, elaborate and able work, "Letters on Masonry and Antimasonry, addressed to John Q. Adams, by William L. Stone of New York," himself an adhering mason.

"This reminds me of a remark made by General Lafayette at the time the masons were pulling the good old General about in this city, striving among each other for the honor of giving him some of the higher degrees. 'To-morrow,' he said '*I am to visit the schools; I am to dine with the Mayor; and in the evening, I suppose, I am to be made* VERY WISE

*In Watson's annals of Philadelphia, page 614 of the octavo edition of 1830, is found the description of an outrage attended with loss of life, committed under the name of masonry, in which it was attempted to implicate Franklin. He, of course, successfully repelled the charge, but it would be useful to investigate the matter fully, to ascertain whether his dislike of the order may not then have commenced or have been confirmed.

by the Freemasons.' I never shall forget the arch look with which he uttered the irony."

If masons be thus free in the use of the names of Franklin and Lafayette, although these distinguished men in reality held masonry in derision, it is not surprising that they should use the name of Washington in the same manner, and with equal injustice, to uphold the tottering fabric of the society.

The proneness of masons to appropriate to their association the character and names of great men, is strikingly exemplified in the fact that some of them have not hesitated, publicly to charge the illustrious founders of democracy, Jefferson and Madison, with having been masons. Moses Richardson, the Grand Treasurer of the Grand Encampment of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, at the investigation of masonry held in Rhode Island in December 1831 and January 1832, testified, *that all the Presidents of the United States except two* (the two Adams's) *were masons.* And the Reverend Bernard Whitney, the orator at the dedication of what is called a masonic temple at Boston, in June 1832, made the same assertion on his individual authority.

The whole of Jefferson's life, devoted to the cause of liberty and the equal rights of man, and his zealous and powerful exposure in all his writings of all aristocratic combinations and associations, are quite sufficient to free his name and character from the imputation of being a mason. He thus writes on privileged societies, in a letter dated April 16, 1784, to General Washington, who had requested his opinion on the subject:

"The objections of those who are opposed to the institution (Cincinnati) shall be briefly sketched. You will readily fill them up. They urge that they are against the confederation—against the letter of some of our constitutions—against the spirit of all of them:—that the foundation on which all of these are built, is the natural equality of man, the denial of

every pre-eminence but that annexed to legal office, and particularly the denial of a pre-eminence by birth. That however, in their present dispositions, citizens might decline accepting honorary instalments into the order, a time may come when a change of dispositions would render these flattering, when a well directed distribution of them might draw into the order all the men of talents, of office and of wealth, and in this case, would probably procure an engraftment into the government; that in this they will probably be supported by their foreign members, and the wishes and influence of foreign courts; that experience has shewn that the hereditary branches of modern governments, are the patrons of privilege and prerogative, and not of the natural rights of the people, whose oppressors they generally are: that besides these evils, which are remote, others may take place more immediately; that a distinction is kept up between the civil and military, which it is for the happiness of both to obliterate; *that when the members assemble they will be proposing to do something, and what that something may be, will depend on actual circumstances; that being an organized body, under habits of subordination, the first obstruction to enterprise will be already surmounted;* that the moderation and virtue of a single character, have probably prevented this revolution from being closed as most others have been, by a subversion of that liberty it was intended to establish; that he is not immortal, and his successor, or some of his successors, may be led by false calculations into a less certain road of glory."

As to Madison, he fortunately lived long enough to learn the enormities of masonry, and its aptitude at enrolling among its worshippers, the names of eminent men who were all their lives entire strangers to its *principles*, its *rites*, and its *fruits*.

He thus replied to a friend who informed him of some of the doings of the fraternity, and who inquired whether he was or ever had been a mason:

"MONTPELIER, January 24, 1832.

"*Dear Sir*,—I received long ago your interesting favor of the 31st October, with the pamphlet referred to, and I owe an apology for not sooner acknowledging it. I hope it will be a satisfactory one, that the state of my health, crippled by a severe rheumatism, restricted my attention to what seemed to have immediate claims upon it; and in that light I did not view the subject of your communication; ignorant as *I was* of the true character of masonry, and little informed as I was of the grounds on which its extermination was contended for; and incapable as I was and am in my situation of investigating the controversy.

"*I never was a mason*, and no one perhaps could be more a stranger to the principles, rites, and fruits of the Institution. I *had* never regarded it as dangerous or noxious; nor, on the other hand, as deriving importance from any thing *publicly known* of it. From the number and character of those who *now* support the charges against masonry, *I cannot doubt that it is at least susceptible of abuses*, outweighing any advantages promised by its patrons. With this apologetic explanation, I tender you, sir, my respectful and cordial salutations.

"JAMES MADISON."

If masons could thus, in defiance of truth and justice, force to the aid of sinking masonry, the popular democratic names of Jefferson and Madison, who never belonged to the order, need we wonder that they should use the reputation of Washington with equal injustice, for the same purpose, merely because he had in his youth been a mason?

When a man of distinguished merit dies, if at any time he had been a mason, although he may have abandoned the Lodge the greater part of his life, masons immediately seize his name to add to the list of great men that belonged to the society, and ever after use it to allure new dupes to the fraternity.

The late Chief Justice Marshall, William Wirt, and Cadwallader D. Colden, (the friend and biographer of Fulton,) had all been masons in their youth. If they had died before

the masonic murder of Morgan aroused the attention of the people to the tendency and the acts of masonry, they would have been enrolled by masons among the great men of the order, and the public ear would have been deafened with the chime of Marshall, Wirt and Colden, as it was with the changes rung on the names of Washington, Franklin and Lafayette.

But fortunately for truth and liberty, they survived that crisis in the progress of our free institutions. Yet attempts to appropriate some of them *masonically* have not been wanting. In August 1833, an eastern paper stated that Judge Marshall said "that Freemasonry was a jewel of the utmost value; that the pure in heart and life could only appreciate it fully—and that in a free government it must, it will be sustained and protected." This publication was made in Massachusetts, upwards of five hundred miles from Richmond, where the Judge resided, and he was at that time about 78 years of age. If he had never heard the assertion, or if hearing of it he had deemed it too absurd to merit notice, then at his death (which in the course of nature could not be remote,) the publication would have been assumed as true, by every Lodge, Chapter and Encampment throughout the United States. They would have alleged triumphantly that the story was published in the life time of the Chief Justice, and that he never denied its correctness.

But happily, as is seen from his letter of October 18, 1833, before referred to, the publication was seen by him, and most explicitly denied, and the important facts added, that he had not been in a Lodge but *once for forty years*, and that he never "affirmed that there was any positive good or ill in the institution itself."

In September 1831, the illustrious and pious Wirt published to the world that he had not been in a Lodge for more than thirty years, and that he considered masonry "at war with

the fundamental principles of the social compact, *treason against society*, and a wicked conspiracy against the laws of God and men, *which ought to be put down*."

In May 1829, Colden addressed to a meeting in New York, a long, most valuable, and interesting letter on the subject of masonry; in which he says, "It is true that I have been a mason a great number of years, and that I held very high masonic offices and honors. It is equally true that I have for a long time ceased to have any connexion with the institution, because, I have believed, and do now believe, it is productive of much more *evil* than *good*. It is also true that I have on no fit occasion hesitated to express this sentiment. I have long entertained my present opinion, that a man who would eschew all evil should not be a Freemason.—*Indeed I have never known a great mason who was not a great fool*."

Since the publication of these letters, the sentiments of masonry towards Marshall, Wirt and Colden appear to have been not a little changed. No aproned or mitred processions accompanied their bodies to the grave: No mallets, crowns, compasses and acacia, were displayed at their funerals: No masonic orations commemorated the fact that they had ever belonged to the order. Their mortal remains were consigned to the earth with the dignified simplicity of plain republicans.

No one can doubt that if Washington had lived within the last few years, his public relation to masonry would not have been different from that of Marshall, Colden and Wirt.

And even before 1799, the period of his decease, if masonry had ventured to hold him up before the American people as a supporter of their order, they would have been spurned with indignation. For even so far back as 1780, he called masonry "child's play," as has been already shown; he subsequently announced to the committee of right worshipfuls of King David's Lodge, that *it was not agreeable to him to be addressed as a mason:* And in 1798, he was prompt and

most decisive in correcting the erroneous supposition of the Reverend Mr. Snyder, that he presided over the Lodges of this country: and added, that he presided over no Lodge, and had not been in one more than once or twice for thirty years. It was not till after death had silenced the lips of Washington, that masons dared to trumpet him to the world as a devotee of masonry, and to exhibit the masonic attire and mallets, and cable-tows, which they pretended he had had in frequent use, and held in awful veneration.

I have thus complied with the request of the House, more at length than was at first intended, but not more fully than the exceeding great importance of the subject seemed to demand. I cannot, however, dismiss it, without calling on the Legislature to adopt the proper measures for removing the abomination of Freemasonry from the land.

Putting aside all other objections, the desecration and invalidation of oaths which it inevitably produces, should cause a moral and religious people to banish it forever. In the words of Washington, to be found in another part of the Farewell Address, "*Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice.*"

To this may be added the opinion of our own Snyder, contained in his annual message of December 5, 1816. "The frequency of oaths, and the levity with which they are commonly administered, on occasions trifling and unnecessary, beget indifference and irreverence for the most awful appeal which the creature can make to his Creator. This has not only a most pernicious influence upon the morals and the order of society generally, but it causes the commission of numerous injuries by perjury. *This abomination in our land,* it is feared, will increase while oaths are uselessly multiplied, and so long as the distinction between merely moral and con-

structively legal perjuries, shield the perjured against prosecution and deserved punishment."

If such were the opinions of Washington and Snyder on the irreverent and unnecessary administration of oaths, at the time when the masonic penalties attached to them were either unknown to the people, or believed not to be intended for actual execution, what would they not now say, when the judicial proceedings of the country bear ample record, both of the correct revelation of the oaths, and of their literal construction in practice, and of the actual infliction of the penalty for violation? Disregard of the obligation to "always hail, ever conceal and never reveal," any of the mysteries of Freemasonry, produced the murderous infliction of the proper masonic penalty, viz: the destruction of life, (most probably in literal accordance with the oath,) and the committal of the body to a watery grave. This inhuman outrage in its turn brought into action the oath of a higher degree, which binds masons to assist each other "whether they be right or wrong," under dread, no doubt, of the more fearful penalty annexed. And this again accomplished that concealment of "murder" by witnesses and that perpetration of "treason" to law and justice by peace officers, jurors and judges, which seem to be the very perfection of masonry in the arch Royal Degree, the conception of whose enormous penalty is disgraceful and horrible to humanity. Nothing but the absolute fear of the infliction of such penalties, could for a moment reduce an honest mind even to silent acquiescence in the binding force of such unlawful and immoral oaths. These things are not mere surmise.

Whatever may be the proceedings of the Legislature now or hereafter, on the subject of extra-judicial oaths and secret societies, I hope, with the blessings of Providence on my exertions, to be able when resigning my charge, to join in the honest boast of the democratic Findlay, in his last Executive Message of December 7, 1820, to the Legislature.

"My public life," said he, "has no doubt been clouded by many errors of the judgement, but in reviewing the numerous intrinsic difficulties which pertain to the exercise of an extensive patronage, and especially when an inordinate avidity for power and emolument was so prevalent, I shall always regard it as a source of high satisfaction, that every attempt on the part of ambitious individuals, or SECRET ASSOCIATIONS, to exercise an unconstitutional control over the executive authority of the Commonwealth, has been successfully resisted during the period those functions have been entrusted to my care."

I am, Gentlemen,
Very respectfully,
Your fellow-citizen,
JOS. RITNER.

To Messrs. FORD,
ENGLISH,
GARRETSON,
STARK,
DIMMICK,
} Committee.

After the reading of the report, a motion was made by Mr. WATTS, that 5000 copies in the English language, and 3000 copies in the German language, of the said report, be printed for distribution.

The motion being under consideration, a motion was made by Mr. GARRETSON, to amend the same, by striking therefrom "5000," and inserting in lieu thereof "3000," and by striking therefrom "3000," and inserting in lieu thereof "2000."

When a motion was made by Mr. DARSIE, to amend the amendment, by striking therefrom "3000 copies in the

English language, and 2000 copies in the German language," and inserting in lieu thereof "the usual number of copies."

And on the question, will the House agree so to amend the amendment? The yeas and nays were required by Mr. WATTS and Mr. M'ILVAINE of Philadelphia, and are as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alricks, Beatty of Crawford, Boyer, Brawley, Cooley, Coplan, Crawford, Curtis, Darsie, Dimock of Susquehanna, English, Erdman, Espy, Gilmore, Harman, Hasson, Hill, Hinkson, Hopkins, Hughes, James, Johnson, Leech, Lewellen, Longaker, M'Clelland, M'Curdy, Rambo, Reed of Bedford, Reed of Philadelphia, Reynolds of Luzerne, Reynolds of Westmoreland, Rheiner, Shearer, Sheetz, Shortz, Stark, Sturgeon, Taylor of Lycoming, Thompson, Woodburn, Yearick, Yost, Dewart, Speaker—45.

NAYS—Messrs. Beale, Beaty of Mercer, Brooks, Carnahan, Chamberlain, Collins, Cunningham, Diller, Duncan, Etter, Fegely, Ferguson, Flanagan, Fling, Ford, Frederick, Fries, Garretson, Gorgas, Hammer, Harshe, Jackson of Berks, A Kauffman, A. I. Kauffman, Lehman, M'Ilvain of Chester, M'Ilvaine of the city, Miller, Morton, Mowry, Oliver, Park, Parker, Picking, Richardson, Sebring, Smith, Snyder of Philadelphia, Spackman, Stevenson, Taylor of Indiana, Trego, Tyson, Watts, Weidman—44.

So the question was decided in the affirmative.

And the amendment as amended was agreed to.

And on the question, will the House agree to the motion as amended? The yeas and nays were required by Mr. REED of Philadelphia, and Mr. RHEINER, and are as follows—yeas 62, nays 18.

So the question was decided in the affirmative.

LETTER TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

PITTSBURG, Nov. 11, 1835.

Hon. Daniel Webster, Boston, Mass.

SIR,

The Democratic Antimasons of Allegheny county, by their delegates in Convention assembled, have this day appointed the undersigned to represent them in a Democratic Antimasonic State Convention, to be holden at Harrisburg on the 14th day of December next, with instructions to urge your nomination by that body, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

Your Antimasonic fellow-citizens here have been influenced in their decision, not only by the esteem in which they hold your character as a statesman, and devoted friend to the Constitution, but also by the impression which has been made on their minds of your entire accordance in opinion with them on the subject of secret associations.

For the satisfaction of our political friends in other sections of this Commonwealth, we shall be most happy if you will enable us to submit to them your opinions respecting the order of *Freemasonry;* an institution, whose principles and obligations the People of Pennsylvania firmly believe to be dangerous to civil liberty, and in contravention to the established rights of American citizens.

We are, very respectfully, &c.

HARMAR DENNY,
BENJAMIN DARLINGTON,
JAMES C. GILLELAND,
NEVILLE B. CRAIG,
W. W. IRWIN,

Delegates from the County of Allegheny to the Democratic Antimasonic State Convention of Pennsylvania.

REPLY OF MR. WEBSTER.

Boston, Nov. 20, 1835.

Gentlemen,

I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 11th inst. the receipt of which has been delayed a few days by my absence from home.

Permit me, gentlemen, to express my grateful sense of the respect shown me by my fellow-citizens, the members of the Convention of Democratic Antimasons of Allegheny county, in their recent proceedings, as set forth in your communication. The esteem they are pleased to express for my public character, and their confidence in my attachment to the Constitution of the country, demand my profound acknowledgements.

Nor do they do me more than justice, in their belief of my entire accordance in their opinion on the subject of Secret Societies. You express a wish however that for the gratification of friends in other parts of the State, I should enable you to make known my sentiments respecting the order of Freemasonry. I have no hesitation, gentlemen, in saying, that however unobjectionable may have been the original objects of the institution, or however pure may be the motives and purposes of individual members, and notwithstanding the many great and good men who have from time to time belonged to the Order; yet, nevertheless, it is an institution which in my judgement, is essentially wrong in the principle of its formation; that from its very nature it is liable to great abuses; that among the obligations which are found to be imposed on its members, there are such as are entirely incompatible with the duty of good citizens; and that all *Secret Associations*, the members of which take upon themselves extraordinary obligations to one another, and are bound together by secret oaths, are naturally sources of jealousy and just

alarm to others ; are especially unfavorable to harmony and mutual confidence among men living together under popular institutions, and are dangerous to the general cause of civil liberty and good government. Under the influence of this conviction, it is my opinion that the future administration of all such oaths, and the imposition of all such obligations, *should be prohibited by law.*

I express these opinions, gentlemen, with the less reserve on this occasion, inasmuch as they have been often expressed already, not only to some of your own number, and many of your friends, but to all others, also, with whom I have at diftimes conversed on the subject.

Of the political principles and conduct of the Antimasons of Pennsylvania I have spoken freely in my place in the Senate, and under circumstances which took from the occasion all just suspicion of any indirect purpose. The opinions then expressed are unaltered. I have ever found the Antimasons of Pennsylvania true to the Constitution, the Union, and to the great interests of the country. They have adopted the "Supremacy of the Laws," as their leading sentiments ; and I know of none more just or more necessary. If there be among us any so high, as to be too high for the authority of law, or so low as to be too low for its regard and protection, or if there be any, who, by any means whatever, may exempt themselves from its control, then to that extent we have failed to maintain an equal government. The supremacy of the Constitution and the laws is the very foundation stone of Republican institutions; if it be shaken or removed from its place, the whole system must inevitably totter to its fall.

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

To Messrs. HARMAR DENNY,
BENJ. DARLINGTON,
J. C. GILLELAND,
NEVILLE B. CRAIG,
W. W. IRWIN,
} Delegates from the county of Allegheny to the Democratic Antimasonic Convention of Pennsylvania.

It has been deemed proper to make a few additional observations to the foregoing, from the fact of the recent MASONIC Celebration at Portsmouth, N. H. (June 24, 1841)—a Celebration, at which the Rev. (shall we so call him?) E. M. P. Wells officiated as Orator!—A minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ!—What sort of a minister must this man be?—Does he not know, or does he contemptuously disregard, the command of the Being he professes to call Master, who says "Swear not at all,"—and is not the murderous institution made up of oaths, and under the penalty of death for a violation of them?—and did not the death of the patriotic WILLIAM MORGAN, and no doubt of others, result from these wicked, antichristian oaths?—and this professed minister of the Gospel, it seems, becomes a principal actor in the scene of iniquity!—But let us hear what Col. STONE of the New York Commercial says of Freemasonry:—and here it is proper to observe that Col. Stone was a high mason, and perfectly acquainted with the institution, and whose life was threatened by some masonic scoundrel, as may be seen in his 25th letter to the Hon. John Q. Adams in page 264 of the volume, to which the reader is referred.

From the 48th and 49th Letters we give the following extracts—but it is necessary to say that our extracts must be short.

"Elder BERNARD,* says Col. Stone, "informs us, that *five* "*weeks* before the outrage [abduction and murder of Morgan] "a Baptist clergyman, a Royal Arch Mason of high standing, "declared to him, THAT MORGAN MUST BE PUT OUT OF THE "WAY!" and again—"at Lockport, *three months* after the "outrage, Bruce was elected Scribe of the Chapter upon the "express ground that he was entitled to the office from his "exertions in the case of Morgan!—Col. King was elected

* A very high mason, but who renounced the institution.—See his book entitled "Light on Masonry."

" and installed High Priest of the Chapter at Lewiston, at the " moment when he held Morgan a prisoner, in a solitary cell " seven miles distant [Fort Niagara] *and had murder in his* " *heart!*"—and in addition to this shocking account we find that the prison, the " solitary cell" of a free citizen of the United States, is *Fort Niagara!* having the violated flag of the United States flying over the Fort!—and to whom is he a prisoner?—to a band of masonic ruffians, for they were entitled to no better name—and what was his crime? why, communicating the secrets of freemasonry!—Col. Stone goes on to say " Five months *after* the perpetration of the crime, " the Grand Chapter *rejected a proposition* offering a reward " of one thousand dollars for the discovery and apprehension " of the authors of it; while on the other hand, they appro- " priated a like sum of one thousand dollars under the pre- " text of *unspecified charity, but in fact to be used for the* " *aid, comfort and assistance of the* CRIMINALS!

" HOWARD, one of the MURDERERS by his own confession, " was cherished by certain of the masons of this city: [New " York] He was kept in concealment from the officers of jus- " tice! funds were raised for him! and he was finally smug- " gled across Long Island, and put on board one of the foreign " packets off Gravesend or Coney Island."—In this manner does Col. Stone go on, showing conclusively that *whole Chapters* and *Lodges* were implicated in the outrage,—and is it not strange, passing strange, that we see efforts now made to revive the murderous institution? We consider the recent Masonic Celebration at Portsmouth as an effort, which we trust will be put down by the united voice of a religious and political people.—We regret being compelled to withhold any of the judicious and able remarks of Col. Stone, but must refer the reader to the volume of Letters addressed as suggested to the Hon. John Q. Adams—indeed, after giving indubitable evidence of the criminality of LODGES and CHAP-

TERS, he says "*There has never been uttered from the walls* "*of either* LODGE *or* CHAPTER, *from the highest to the low-* "*est, an expression of real censure or honest indignation,* "*against any individual, however clearly it may have been* "*known that he was engaged in* DEPRIVING A FREE CITIZEN "OF HIS LIBERTY, AND PUTTING HIM TO DEATH "IN COLD BLOOD."

We now, after the foregoing shocking detail, appeal to every citizen of our beloved country—how and in what manner can the recent *Masonic* celebration at Portsmouth be viewed, taken politically, morally or religiously? Can it be viewed in any other light, where not beclouded or obscured by ignorance, than as what is called *particips criminis* or a participation in all the outrages and murder committed on the person of William Morgan—the aid, assistance and protection of his murderers?—It is a plain question and addressed to every man of feeling or humanity.

Col. Stone, in the spirit of patriotism by which he was animated, proceeds to show that FREEMASONRY ought to be ABOLISHED, and among other reasons he states that "The "garments of masonry are stained with blood!—an American "citizen has been sacrificed upon its altar, for no breach of "the civil laws of the Land, but only for a violation of his "masonic obligations! what has once happened may happen "again: and the only safe and secure disposition of the sub- "ject is to abandon it and blot it out forever!"—Again, "The "power of masonry has proved too strong for the arm of the "civil law! The cry which earth sends up to Heaven, when "her bosom is stained with the blood of a murdered son, sel- "dom fails to ensure just retribution from the hands of her "children; *but in this instance* IT HAS FAILED! Ought then" he continues "an institution which has exercised such power "to exist in a free country?

"The crime that has been committed in the name of the "institution was not perpetrated, as it has been contended,

"by ignorant fanatics, but the conspiracy embraced much of "the intelligence and respectability of that enlightened por- "tion of the country and THE MURDERERS THEMSELVES MEN "OF NO MEAN CONSIDERATION!"—Again, "The institution "cannot vindicate itself from the stigma of this outrage.—On "the contrary, by the course they have taken, *since it was* "*perpetrated*, both the GRAND LODGE and GRAND CHAPTER "have in fact assumed the responsibility of the transaction! "For aught that these governing bodies have done, the con- "victs in that outrage are as good masons, standing *Recti in* "*curia*, as any of us!"—then follows the question which may be pertinently addressed to those individuals, who as masonic members attended the Portsmouth Celebration, but more especially to E. M. P. WELLS, "Ought men of principle and "virtue to sustain such an institution, or remain connected "with it?"—Once more, "The conduct of masons on the tri- "als at the west, is a sufficient cause for the abandonment. "*Grand Jurors* were false to their oaths—to truly present! "*Witnesses* upon trial were false to their oaths—to truly "testify! *Petit Jurors* were false to their oaths—to truly "try! Witnesses in some instances spurned the authority of "the Court, and refused to testify; and in other instances to "be sworn! Sheriffs corruptly returned *partial Grand Ju-* "*rors!*"—What a complication of wickedness,—yet such is only a partial account given by Col. Stone, who was not barely a mason, but one of high standing and consequently was perfectly acquainted with the masonic institution—and from his being the editor of a widely spread paper, which had extensive exchanges, giving him the means of knowing every thing regarding the abduction and murder of William Morgan! but we repeat, whoever is desirous of knowing the nature, the nonsense, and the moral obliquity of the institution, let him read Col. Stone's Letters, 49 in number, to the Hon. John Q. Adams.

The following remarks on the celebration at Portsmouth are from the Lynn Record of June 30.

"The Freemasons celebrated the festival of St. John, as they call it, on Thursday last, the 24th inst. at Portsmouth, N. H. We could hardly have believed, that a sufficient number of rational beings, would have been found in this enlightened age, to go on pilgrimage to perform this worse than senseless idolatry—this worship of the vile Juggernaut, the old exploded and disgraced mummery of Freemasonry. We read the notice of such a meeting without marvel, it is true, because there will be a few, here and there one, incapable of gaining notice otherwise, who arrive to high honors in the Masonic ranks, and cannot forego the pleasures, the honors, which these occasions bring, and which they can no where else enjoy—the honor of being Great, Grand, Royal, Most Excellent, Most Worshipful, &c. But we did not suppose that any considerable number of decent men would at this day risk their reputation for common sense by being seen with the little aprons on, marching through the dust in procession.

"The Portsmouth Journal in giving an account of this celebration, says:—'It was well attended by the Fraternity from our own and from the neighboring States. Between two and three hundred brethren were in attendance. The procession moved at about 11 o'clock, to the music of the Newburyport Brass Band, from Masonic Hall through the principal streets to the North Church, where, after appropriate introductory services, [pray what were they?—being blinded, haltered and stripped?] an able and truly eloquent address was delivered by Rev. E. M. P. Wells of Boston, which was principally confined to the *morale* of Masonry. He exhibited the Institution as one of the soundest moral tendency and as inculcating the soundest and most liberal principles of government.'

"So the Rev. E. M. P. Wells of Boston, after having gone through the initiatory mummery of Freemasonry—the inde-

cent ceremonies, and having taken the horrid and blasphemous oaths, and having known as one of the legitimate effects of these horrid oaths, the death of WILLIAM MORGAN, is not ashamed to tramp off to Portsmouth, and stripping off his priestly robe, invest himself in the ridiculous costume of the craft, march 'through the principal streets to the North *Church*'—yes, to the *Church ;*—a fine occasion for entering the sanctuary, truly! where no antislavery lecturer could gain admittance.

"The Journal tells us that this very 'able and truly eloquent address' of the Rev. Brother E. M. P. Wells, 'was principally confined to the *morale* of Masonry.' The *moral* of being hoodwinked, divested of clothing, and dragged about the lodge room, a laughing stock, to be jeered and insulted by the gaping, vulgar throng; the *moral* of swearing to 'extricate a brother from difficulty, whether he be right or wrong, in all cases whatever, murder and treason not excepted!'—The *moral* of swearing that 'you will not violate the chastity of a Master Mason's wife, sister or daughter, *knowing her to be such!*'

"O, Rev. Brother E. M. P. Wells, think of these things,—'Evil *communications* corrupt good *morals*,'—'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.' And when you shall have thrown off the gaudy trappings of Freemasonry, and assumed the sacerdotal robe, and have entered the church and the sacred desk, to expound, not the *morale* of Freemasonry, but the Word of God, reflect, we beseech thee, that 'for all these things God will call thee into judgement.' He will call thee to 'render an account of thy stewardship.'"

To show the difference between what we consider a true minister of the Gospel, and one who is not, we insert the Renunciation of Freemasonry made by the Rev. *Joseph S. Christmas*, who, it seems, was in a double sense literally *taken in*, in the British Provinces. It was originally publish-

ed in the New York Investigator, the editor of which remarks that it "is not the less valuable for having been one of the latest acts of life; it is in truth his *dying testimony* against false and wicked Freemasonry, and is entitled to the highest regard, as coming from a man, sincere and candid, learned and pious."

RENUNCIATION.

Oh my soul! come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly mine honor be not thou united.—*Gen.* xlix. 6.

To the Editor of the Investigator.

Sir,

I was much surprised a few days since, upon being informed by a friend that my name had been mentioned in your paper, and held up to the public as one of those clergymen who still continue in the fellowship of Freemasonry. Although mortified by such an use of my name I do not regret that I have been thus reminded of my duty. I am a mason, and it is due to myself to explain the extent of my connexion with the fraternity, and the occasion of my remissness in not having earlier disavowed that connexion.

About five years since, in a season of comparative youth, when I had but just passed my minority, I made application for admission to a lodge. For this *mis-step*, for such I now deem it, I might offer some apologies, such as that the moral and Christian character of masonry had not been then to my knowledge called in question, that many of my most esteemed friends, and worthy members of the congregation of which I then had charge, and most of the Protestant ministers where I then resided were masons, but now I feel that I did wrong in assuming the unqualified obligations of an institution of whose interior I knew nothing. I was initiated into the order, took the Apprentice's Degree, and never afterwards entered a lodge, or gave or received a masonic signal.

Through the subsequent trials and duties of several years, masonry scarcely entered my mind, nor was it till of late that I have been convinced of the *intrinsic* evil of the institution; nor did I then feel it my duty to renounce, first, because I concluded from my slight connexion with the lodge, that I had but little to renounce, and secondly, because that

connexion being with a lodge in a province of the British Empire, I supposed it not known in this country, and therefore not injurious by way of example. But I was mistaken; and as I have been emblazoned before the public as a Freemason, [a trick always pursued by the craft, when a man of distinction is cajoled into it,] neither modesty nor duty require any apology for the publicity with which I wipe the stain of masonry from my conscience as a man, and from my office as a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Should any member of the fraternity say that the opinion of one who has made so little progress in the craft is nothing worth; I reply that the pretensions to secrecy still maintained on the part of the institution are false, and can be proved so by the concentrated daylight of the manifold testimony which no reasonable man can deny. My opinion may be nothing worth, but this at least will be gained;—no man shall henceforth put me in the catalogue of clergymen abetting masonry.

It is not for me to explain how it is, that many upright, and honorable, and conscientious, and pious men are still found within the inclosure of the mystic tie. I would hope that many of them are ignorant of the mysteries of iniquity which exist in the higher degrees, and that others still preserve silence from wrong views of Christian casuistry, and have yet to learn that sinful oaths like that of King Herod bind to nothing but repentance, and fruits meet for repentance. Explain their conduct as you will, it is enough for me to know in ascertaining my duty, that masonry is *useless*, containing no motives to duty nor sanctions to morality paramount to Christianity; abounding in no results of benevolence which are not tenfold counterbalanced by the necessary expenses, and incidental temptations of the system; imparting no useful knowledge unless a few cabalistic words and traditionary fables be useful knowledge. It is enough for me to know that masonry is *false* in its pretensions to antiquity, may be proved so, not only by the entire absence of documentary testimony, but the internal evidence of imposture palpable to every linguist and biblical scholar. It is enough for me to know that masonry is *anti-christian* and *impious;* an assertion which may be verified by a reference to the nature and frequency of the oaths; to the rejection of a Mediator from its worship; to the blasphemous titles which in certain degrees

are given to its officers; to the ludicrous application often made of scriptural language; to the profane introduction of sacramental ceremonies, and to the principal duty of the lodge, which is, in every degree, the dramatic performance of what I can describe by no other name than a *farce*, founded on scriptural history, whose serio-comic effect indeed betrays that no master in the histrionic art was engaged in its composition. For these, and other reasons, I cannot but consider speculative masonry as one of the "unfruitful works of darkness," with which a high authority—higher than all the unlawful oaths of the craft, bids me "have no fellowship, but rather to reprove them." And when that time which I confidently expect shall arrive, when the word of GOD shall grow mightily and prevail, we shall see a repetition of what occurred eighteen centuries since in the city of Diana of the Ephesians. "And many that believed came and confessed, and showed their deeds. Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together and burned them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver." Acts xix. 18, 19.

If these remarks should meet the eye of any follower of the Redeemer who still worships at the altar of masonry, I beg him once more to consider whether imposed on by the mock solemnities of the lodge and the pompous pretensions of the craft, he is not really attempting to effect a concord between Christ and Belial; and whether he does not owe it to the souls of masons, to the honor of the church of Christ, and to the good of mankind, to come out and be separate.

JOSEPH S. CHRISTMAS.

Pastor of the Bowery Presbyterian Church.

New York, March 2, 1830.

Such is the difference between the Rev. *Joseph S. Christmas*, and *E. M. P. Wells*, the Masonic Orator!

Although many, very many are the documents, that could be produced exhibiting the moral deformity of Freemasonry, enough to fill volumes, we shall conclude with the following Letter from the Hon. John Q. Adams to Mr. James Morehead, Editor of the Mercer Luminary.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 1832.

Mr. James Morehead, Mercer, Pa.

SIR,

Mr. Banks, the worthy Representative of your district, delivered to me your friendly letter of the 26th of last month.—I have since the commencement of the session of Congress, regularly received the numbers of the Mercer Luminary, and have observed with pleasure the zeal and assiduity with which it disseminates the Light of Antimasonry.—To that cause I am devoted, because I believe it to be the cause of pure morals and of truth. Until the murder of Morgan I had very little knowledge of the institution of Freemasonry, except as an occasional witness of its childish pageantry, and the mock solemnity of its processions. These I believed to be harmless, and I gave willing credit to their boastful professions of benevolence and charity. Very soon after the Morgan catastrophe, however, the masonic *obligations* were disclosed to me in the escape of Col. William King, from the pursuit of justice, in the territory of Arkansas. I saw their operation, without being able to punish the offender or even judicially to authenticate the offence.—King escaped by the connivance of masonic obligations paramount to the laws of the land. He re-appeared afterwards upon the theatre of his guilt; and as you know, died suddenly, on the disclosing of facts which he had flattered himself were hidden from every person under the canopy of Heaven, without the pale of masonic oaths and penalties.—Other evidences of the practical effect of masonic obligations soon revealed themselves to me in the forms of *secret slander* and perjury. But of the multitude of atrocious crimes committed first in the conspiracy which terminated in the murder of Morgan, and for five years afterwards in baffling and defeating the Laws of the State in their efforts to bring the murderers to justice, I had a very imperfect idea till the publication of Col. Stone's Book.

There remained yet, not any reasonable doubt, but some deficiency of evidence, with regard to the essential, inherent, and indelible viciousness of the masonic obligations, in the solemn protestations of the adhering masons, that those obligations were falsely represented in the Books of Bernard and Avery Allyn. In the bold asseverations that no such oaths, obligations and penalties existed, and in reiterated declarations couched in delusive generalities, that *they* had never taken any oath or obligation inconsistent with their duties to their country or their religion; but always without disclosing what *were* the terms of those which they had taken. The investigation by a Committee of the Legislature of Rhode Island, finally brought out the obligations of ten degrees, as avowed to be practised in the Lodges, Chapters, and Encampments of that State. It exposed them in their hideous deformity; and took from the defenders of masonry their last refuge of prevarication.

It was to show them in their naked nature, divested of all sophisticated explanations, and all mental equivocations, that I wrote the four letters on the Entered Apprentice's Oath, which you have republished in the Luminary. I am happy that they have met your approbation.

I am with much respect,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

J. Q. ADAMS.

We cannot conclude without gratifying the curiosity of a friend who wishes to be informed, why the 24th of June is celebrated by masons, as the anniversary of the birth or death, for we don't know which, of John the Baptist? The learned Orator can no doubt answer the question—and to which we append another.—Does the learned Orator seriously believe that John the Baptist ever heard or knew any thing of Freemasonry, an institution that had no existence for more than 1600 years after his death?—We ask his answer.

JAN 15 1921